

HATFIELD
SOME MEMORIES OF
BISHOP'S HATFIELD
AND ITS PAST

BY JOCELYN J. ANTROBUS

EIGHTH EDITION

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BISHOP'S HATFIELD
Some Memories of its Past



Queen Elizabeth

*The Rainbow Portrait, from the collection of the Marquess of Salisbury
at Hatfield House*

BISHOP'S HATFIELD

SOME MEMORIES OF ITS PAST

BY JOCELYN J. ANTROBUS

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

EIGHTH EDITION

PUBLISHED AT BISHOP'S HATFIELD
IN THE COUNTY OF HERTFORD

1955

FOREWORD

IN writing this little book, the Author does not claim to give anything new to the world ; he has merely gathered together fragments from many sources and put them into one consecutive whole.

His object in writing has been that the boys and girls of Hatfield, as well as the men and women, should know something more of the wealth of the heritage which they enjoy. If he succeeds, that is in itself reward enough.

The following authorities have been consulted : The three County Histories of Hertfordshire, written respectively by Chauncy, Cussans, and Clutterbuck ; "The Catalogue of the Hatfield House Pictures," by Laurence Gifford Holland ; the article on "Hatfield House," by Dr. Brewer in the *Quarterly Review* of January 1876 ; "Hertfordshire Families," by Warrand ; "The Herts Historical Commission Report" ; "Ely Cathedral Guide" (Bell's Cathedral Series), by Sweeting ; "Some Notes on the Rectors and Registers of Hatfield Church," by an anonymous author in the *Hatfield Parish Magazine*.

The Author wishes to express his warmest thanks to Mr. R. T. Gunton, but for whose kindness and courtesy these pages would never have been written.

He has made unsparing use of several articles written by Mr. Gunton, and takes this opportunity of recording his acknowledgment.

His thanks are also due to the Marquess of Salisbury for kind permission to use the Hatfield Library, and to the Rector of Hatfield, the Lady Gwendolen Cecil, and the Lady Florence Cecil for much information concerning the Cecil family.

The Author also expresses his indebtedness to Mr. H. H. Hankin and Mr. J. Halsey, the late Clerks of Hatfield Parish Church, for much local lore of interest, and also for many details concerning the church. His thanks are also due to Mr. Thomas Bowes for the plan of St. Etheldreda's, and to Mr. F. W. Speaight for much valuable help and advice.

The numbers appended to the pictures referred to in the text are those in the "Hatfield House Catalogue."

HATFIELD, 1914.

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CHAPTER I.

Site of Roman Villa—Council of Hatfield, 680 A.D.—Gift of Manor of Hatfield to the Monastery of Ely—Survey of Hatfield in Domesday Book—Transference of Manor to Bishop of Ely—Incursion of William de Valence.

It may be claimed with some authority for the town of Hatfield that it has been a place of importance for as long as the history of England has been recorded.

Situated, as it was, five miles from the Roman city of Verulamium, it was probably the site of the villa of some wealthy colonist, who preferred to have his seat among the thick forest and heath-land, which lay to the east of the great city, rather than to dwell within the massive walls.

In the latter part of the nineteenth century there was discovered close to the dairy and kitchen gardens a fine white marble bath of Roman workmanship, still to be seen in Hatfield House.

No further trace, however, has been discovered of this early habitation, such as it was, and we may surmise that it was burned to the ground by the barbarians who swept over the land on the withdrawal of the Roman legions.

It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that the site of the parish church of St. Etheldreda was at one time occupied by some heathen fane, for it is recorded that our ancestors built their churches on sites where the early worship of the heathen gods had been conducted.

The spur of land, on which the church stands, would have been visible from many points of the heath-land, which stretched away westward, and was a likely spot for some British or Saxon tribe to choose upon which to place their temple. It is impos-

sible to say precisely at what date a church was first erected at Hatfield, for though a Church Council was held at Hatfield in the year 680, convened by Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, it is by some considered that this Hatfield or Heath Feld was situated in Yorkshire, as Egfrid, King of Northumbria, presided over the assembled company.

If, however, we may claim this honour for our own town, we may safely say that by 680 some church must have been erected here, as no Council would have been held where there was not opportunity for celebrating the Blessed Sacrament.

Whether or not at this early date some small cluster of houses had grown up on the heath seems uncertain, but there is good authority that about the year 970 King Edgar presented the property to the monks of Ely.

The Benedictine monastery at Ely, dedicated to the Saxon princess and saint, Etheldreda, had suffered severely from the ravages of the Danes, and it is easy to imagine that the King thought by this gift to compensate the monks in some measure for what they had lost.

From this time, therefore, must date the dedication of our parish church to St. Etheldreda, for the monks would naturally be anxious to do her honour and to be themselves reminded of the great cathedral of which their house was an off-shoot. Their first abode in Hatfield was not on the top of the hill, hard by the church, but on the low, marshy ground close to Mill Green, where the morass would give them some natural protection and where they would have the advantage of the River Lea to turn their mill.

It is not for another 100 years that further mention is made of the village and its inhabitants; when William the Conqueror caused that historic survey of England, which we know as Domesday Book, to be drawn up.

"Hetfelle," it runs, "is in the property of the Abbot of Ely, and there is as much arable land as can be ploughed with 30 ploughs."

"There is a Parish Priest, eighteen villeins, eighteen bordarii, twelve cottagers, and six serfs."

This little community of fifty-five souls is typical of the state of England at the time of the Conquest.

Domesday Book goes on to tell us : "There are four mills and enough acorn and beech mast in the Great Wood to feed two thousand hogs."

We need hardly doubt that the present mill, which stands so picturesquely on the Hertford road, occupies the exact position of the mills here mentioned, and so we may claim that flour has been ground for the inhabitants of Hatfield on this very spot for nearly a thousand years.

Some of the oaks which still are standing in the Home Park, on the north side of Hatfield House, may have been the very trees to provide provender for the large herds of swine which roamed beneath their shade, the possession of which must have been a valuable addition to the income of the monks of Ely.

But within a short time from this date the monks were to cease to be the Lords of the Manor of Hatfield, and the Bishop of Ely was to take their place.

In the year 1108 the abbey of Ely was converted by Henry I. into a bishopric, and thenceforward for four hundred years Hatfield became one of the residences of the Bishop of Ely : hence its full title of "Bishop's Hatfield," which it still retains in ecclesiastical parlance.

But the Bishop of Ely did not always enjoy his good inheritance without intrusion, as we learn from a story handed down to us by Matthew Paris, a monk of St. Alban's Abbey.

He tells us how one day William de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, and half-brother to Henry III., who was at that time occupying the royal castle of Hertford, came hunting on the Bishop of Ely's land at Hatfield without having obtained permission.

Heated, no doubt, by the chase, and unable to procure drink elsewhere, he burst into the bishop's palace and, having regaled himself and his companions to the full, he pulled out the spigots from the casks and allowed the liquor to go running over the cellar floor.

The bishop, who seems to have been absent on the occasion,

when apprised of what had happened, hid his sorrow under a calm look, merely remarking : " What necessity was there to steal and plunder that which would have been freely and willingly given in abundance if they had but asked for it ? "

The bishop was either a man well able to restrain his feelings, or else he feared the proximity of so powerful and ill-behaved a neighbour.

CHAPTER II.

Building of the Church of St. Etheldreda—Unknown Monument from Previous Church—Architectural Details of the Church—The Rector's "Marlere"—St. Audrey's Fair—Foundation of St. Anne's or Lowthes Chantry and its Endowment—Chapel of St. Mary of Ludwicke—Survey of Palace—John Barnet, Bishop of Ely—His Tomb—Louis de Luxembourg—Thomas Poulton, Rector—Wars of the Roses.

DURING the long reign of Henry III. we come, with some certainty, to the building of the present church, also dedicated to St. Etheldreda, which took place early in the thirteenth century.

The only certain date which we have of this period concerning the church is the installation of Nicholas de Northwold as rector in the year 1240.

There is, however, a relic of the earlier church in an old tomb which now lies in the Salisbury Chapel, having been removed thither in 1871 from the Ponsbourne Aisle.

It consists of a small recumbent figure, about 4 ft. long, covered from the throat to the knees with a shield, the right hand grasping a sword, the hilt of which now alone remains. There is no clue left whereby to assign a name to the tomb, but experts date it as being extremely early—*circa* 1190—that is, as belonging to the reigns of Henry II. or Richard I.

Some time, then, in the earlier part of the thirteenth century our church was erected in the form of a cross, much as it is now, though probably somewhat shorter, and with the tower springing from the transepts. We have good evidence that the tower or steeple was in this position, as the east wall of the nave is thickened in order to support it, and a flying buttress has been built on the north side of the nave for the same purpose.

There is much beautiful work of this period to be seen in the south transept.

The arch in the west wall of this transept, with its dog-tooth ornament and capitals enriched with foliage, even though it may have been rebuilt, dates from *circa* 1240. On the east wall of the same transept is a fine lancet window, now blocked up, to the south of which is a large trefoiled recess, both of which must originally have admitted light.

Later in the same century, possibly during the reign of Edward I., the church was enlarged by the addition of a south chapel, commonly known among us as the Brocket Chapel, though it should be more correctly designated as the Ponsbourne Aisle.

It is difficult to assign any exact date to the building of the nave, as in 1871 it was found to be in so bad a state of repair that the walls were taken down almost to the ground; but the north wall of the nave undoubtedly stands on thirteenth-century foundations, and therefore we may surmise that it appeared much as it does to-day, though its length was probably less and it certainly was narrower originally than it is now.

The arch between the nave and the small chapel west of the south transept, where the organ was till lately placed, is also of thirteenth-century workmanship, though much restored.

There can be little doubt whence much of the material for the construction of the church was procured, for there is a lease, granted by the lord of the manor to the Rector, of a "marlere close to the church."

This marlere, or chalk-pit, we may well surmise is that in which Salisbury Square has been subsequently erected, and from it, doubtless, was drawn much of the flint for the construction of the church walls. Chalk was largely used in former days for the manuring of arable land, and the "marlere" may well have proved a profitable investment for the rector of the day.

During the reign of Edward II. John Hotham, who succeeded Hugh Balsham in the see of Ely, not only had the former privileges of his Manor of Hatfield confirmed, but also

obtained from the King in 1318 the right of a weekly market and a yearly fair.

The fair must always have taken place in October, on the Feast of St. Etheldreda, for such fairs were of common occurrence, especially in the eastern counties, and have given to the English language a word, "tawdry."

So many cheap and showy articles changed hands at the fairs of St. Etheldreda, or St. Audrey, as she was popularly called, that "tawdry" became an epithet for any gimcrack or worthless finery.

Some fifteen years after the institution of St. Audrey's fair we find an interesting account of the foundation of a chantry in the parish church.

A chantry was a small chapel, usually enclosed by a pierced stone or wooden grille, within which was an altar at which masses could be said for the souls of the departed.

This chantry was founded at the altar of St. Anne in the church of Hatfield by Roger de Luda to pray for the good estate of himself and his wife Joan during their lives, and after their death for their souls, and those of Thomas de Luda, his brother, treasurer of the church of St. Mary at Lincoln, John Hayward and Catherine his wife, and ordained by him, by deed dated at Hatfield on Friday next before the Feast of the Decollation of St. John the Baptist, in the year 1333, which deed was witnessed by Hugh Fitzsimon, Stephen Bassingbourne, William Ludwick, Knts., Laurence de Ayete, Robert Wacensippe, Thomas Sampson, and others.

The chantry was endowed with ten messuages and forty acres of land in Hatfield, and with 10s. in money per annum.

Sixty years later, in 1392, the endowment was augmented by the gift of two messuages, thirty-three acres of land, two acres of meadow, and one acre of wood in Bishop's Hatfield and North Mymms, on the condition of the remembrancing of the soul of Nicholas de Louth. The advowson was to be held of the Bishop of Ely by the service of 5s. 11d. rent, six days' harrowing, forty-six days' mowing in autumn, one day of making hay, and by services every fourth year to make

fences round the Park of Bishop's Hatfield 120 perches long.

Some seventy-five years later, in 1467, the Chantry of St. Anne, or Lowthes Chantry, as it is sometimes called, passed from the gift of the family which had originally endowed it.

In that year Robert Louthe and Edith his wife, of the Manor of Hornbeamgate (Essendon), sell their estate to Nicholas Brette and Nicholas Leuenthorpe; also the advowson of the Chantry of St. Anne in Bishop's Hatfield Church for 200 marks sterling (£133 6s. 8d.).

There can be little doubt that the Chantry of St. Anne stood in the north transept of the church against the east wall of the nave, in which there is still a late fourteenth-century piscina with some remains of fresco on it, which would synchronise nearly enough with the date of the foundation of the chantry.

In addition to this chantry there were two other chantry chapels in the church—the chapel of St. Mary of Ludwicke and the Fortescue, or Ponsbourne, Chapel. The chapel of St. Mary of Ludwicke was probably within the south transept, as will be seen later. There is a complete list of the chantry priests of St. Anne, beginning with the names of Therynge and John Tachewelldale in the year 1333, down to the year 1532, when James Shaw was appointed, shortly before the abolition of the chantries in 1547.

Shortly after the foundation of the chantry of St. Anne a survey was taken of the Palace of Hatfield, during the bishopric of Thomas de Lisle, the litigious prelate whose whole episcopate was devoted to a controversy over some estates in Huntingdon with the Lady Blanche Wake, daughter of the Earl of Lancaster, and afterwards wife of John of Gaunt, in consequence of which he was obliged to flee to Avignon, where he died. His palace seems to have been one of the primitive structures of the time, with more outhouses than dwelling chambers.

The survey declares the hall to be in sufficient repair save the roof, and that there was a chapel whose defects could be

remedied for 3s. 4d. There was a gateway toward the church and a house over the gateway.

From this we may infer that the Bishop's dwelling had been removed from the low ground by the Lea to the high ground, still occupied by the Palace, some time before the Survey, and this statement carries back the date of the present gateway at the top of Fore Street, or at least the site of it, 550 years.

Five years after Thomas de Lisle's death John Barnet became Bishop of Ely. He had been previously Bishop of Worcester and of Bath and Wells, and for six years was Lord High Treasurer of England. He died at his Palace of Hatfield on June 7, 1373, and was buried in the church on the south side of the high altar.

In Fuller's "Worthies," written in 1662, it is stated that the monument erected to him was then "miserably defaced by some sacrilegious Executioner, who hath beheaded the statue lying thereon." By the year 1701, when Chauncy published his County History, he notes "All trace of it hath long ceased to exist."

Another prelate to die at Hatfield was Louis de Luxembourg, who died at the Palace in 1443. He was already Archbishop of Rouen, and had risen to the rank of Cardinal; but Henry VI. obtained the Pope's consent to his appointment as Bishop of Ely "to gratify one of his numerous adherents of the French nation, who had lost their all in that kingdom and followed his fortunes in this." He had been Chancellor of Normandy and Governor of Paris, and was a "great upholder in France of the cause of the King of England."

He is termed Perpetual Administrator rather than Bishop of Ely, and seems hardly ever to have been in his see.

According to the curious custom of his day, he bequeathed his bowels to be buried in the church of Bishop's Hatfield, his body to be interred at Ely, and his heart to be taken to Normandy for burial at Rouen.

Shortly before the death of Louis de Luxembourg there died a rector of Hatfield who rose to some eminence.

Thomas Poulton, rector of Hatfield 1418-1420, held also

the deanery of York, so we may surmise that his Hertfordshire living saw little of him. He held the living only two years, and resigned it on accepting the bishopric of Hereford. He was subsequently translated to the see of Worcester, 1426, and died nine years later at Rome, thus escaping all the horrors of the Wars of the Roses.

During all these years the monks must have lived peaceably in the household of the Bishop, superintending the working of the manor, though their tranquillity must have been disturbed more than once owing to the proximity of some of the most terrible battles of those wars—the Battles of St. Albans in 1455 and 1461, and the Battle of Barnet in 1471—when, as Dr. Brewer tells us, they “found more congenial occupation in tending the wounded and dying fugitives that poured into Hatfield and the surrounding villages on the disastrous defeats of those days.”

CHAPTER III

Court Leet of 1484—Cardinal Morton—Building of Church Tower—Widening of Nave—Fortescues of Ponsbourne—Tomb of Sir John Fortescue, 1500—Foundation of Fortescue Chantry, 1518—Building of Palace—Birth of Lady Fraunces Brandon—John Taillard, Rector.

A CURIOUS light is thrown on the parish life of the day by a Court Roll of 1484, which shows us that, even if Hatfield did not participate in the civil wars, there was a good deal of local strife.

Not even the parish priest was immune, for Hatfield was not only quarrelsome, but dishonest.

Thomas Walcot complains against John, the parish priest of Hatfield, that he took and carried away a book of pricking * song, and says that the book was worth 20s.

John denied the impeachment, and the jury found him Not Guilty, and vindicated him by fining the plaintiff 6d.

With the reign of Henry VII. great changes came over Hatfield, principally in the rebuilding of the Palace and the enlargement of the parish church.

There can be little doubt that we owe both these benefits to the great mind of John Morton, who was created successively Master of the Rolls and Lord Chancellor.

He became Bishop of Ely 1479, Archbishop of Canterbury 1486, received a Cardinal's hat 1493, and died 1500.

There is much late fifteenth-century work in Hatfield Church, and tradition has always said that the fine tower at the west end was erected by him.

The central tower, which was probably of shingles, must

* Pricking or prick song differed from plain song in that in the former the harmony was written or pricked out whole, while in the latter the singer had to supply the harmony.

have been considered inadequate, or had been destroyed.

The architectural details of the church tell us that the nave was widened on the south side in the fifteenth century, and the door which leads out of the north transept into the vestry is of the same date.

The widening of the nave at this date accounts for the fact that the nave and the chancel are to such a degree out of the straight line with one another—a very remarkable feature of the church.

The north door also seems to have been erected about the same time, though it has been much restored.

But before we proceed to Cardinal Morton's greatest work, the building of the Palace, mention must be made of the family of Fortescue, the members of which did some considerable work in the enrichment of the church.

The first member of this family to hold Ponsbourne and to build a house on it was the stout knight, Sir John Fortescue, who fought at Agincourt.

He was followed by his son Richard, who, like the rest of his family, warmly espoused the Lancastrian cause, and died fighting for his king at St. Albans in 1445.

His son, Sir John Fortescue, was no less a partisan of the Red Rose than had been his father, but was received into favour by Edward IV. when he gained the throne; and so far did he gain the trust of the king that, when John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, seized St. Michael's Mount and fortified himself therein, Sir John was entrusted with a force against him, which compelled his surrender after a siege of two months, and the Earl was imprisoned.

When, however, Richard III. liberated the Earl of Oxford from his captivity, Sir John, his late antagonist, accompanied him to France, and, joining Henry Earl of Richmond, landed with him at Milford Haven.

He was rewarded for his services by the honour of Knight of the Body of Henry VII. and by the post of Porter of Calais, to which city on one occasion he accompanied the King and Queen in order to avoid the plague.

Dying at Ponsbourne in the year 1500, Sir John was buried at Hatfield, in the South Chapel or Ponsbourne Aisle, which seems to have been widened about this date.

A fine fifteenth-century doorway leads from the south transept into the Ponsbourne Aisle, and was probably the Priest's Door of entry to the Church, but since the enlargement of the Chapel it has been included in the interior of the building.

Sir John and Sir Adrian Fortescue, sons to the late Sir John, erected in the Ponsbourne Aisle to the memory of their father a marble tomb, enriched with "images and armys," of which, unhappily, no vestige remains.

The only trace by which we may still associate the Ponsbourne Aisle with the Fortescue family is a shield on the middle pier of the fifteenth-century arcade between the chapel and the chancel of the church, charged with the family arms—on a bend engrailed and cotised, a molet.

Sir John Fortescue survived his father eighteen years, and bequeathed by his will, dated 1518, that "an honest clerk should yearly celebrate in the chapel, next the chapel of St. Mary of Ludwicke, within the Parish Church of Bishop's Hatfield, for his soul and the souls of his parents, ancestors and friends, and that the said clerk should receive yearly ten marks [£6 13s. 4d.] to be paid out of Brookmans Manor."

This would seem to indicate that the Chapel of St. Mary of Ludwicke was situated in the south transept, as the Mass for Sir John's soul would certainly be said at an altar close to his tomb in the Ponsbourne Aisle.

Sir Adrian, the second brother, brought back from one of his expeditions to Calais, in 1526, "a great tabernacle for the altar of this chapel," which, however, cannot have remained intact more than a quarter of a century, owing to the iconoclastic measures of the Protector Somerset.

Sir Adrian himself was beheaded by Henry VIII. in 1539 for refusing to recognise the King's supremacy as Head of the Church.

The Manor of Ponsbourne had, however, been sold the year previously by another brother, Sir Henry Fortescue, to

Lord Seymour of Sudeley, who ten years later married the Queen-dowager, Catherine Parr.

Let us now return to the great Bishop of Ely, Cardinal Morton, who will be best remembered at Hatfield by the construction of a new palace, which was begun in the year 1496.

The building was originally a quadrangle 218 ft. square, of which the great gateway faced the present site of Hatfield House, while the sunken rose-garden still marks its great court. There was probably a flagged walk from the gateway across the court to the banqueting hall, which occupied the centre of the western wing.

The western wing alone remains to us, the other three sides having been demolished to provide materials for the building of Hatfield House in 1608.

Even that which remains is of exceeding interest, for the palace was one of the first great houses in England built solely for the sake of habitation, without any means of defence; though we must note that it was built still on the lines of a fortified castle.

The towers and battlements remain as part of the plan of erection, but they are by the end of the fifteenth century solely for architectural ornament; the building is also of interest for the fact that it was one of the first houses in England built entirely of brick.

It is not known who was the architect of this beautiful Tudor house, but it is not at all impossible that Morton may have been his own architect.

Some alteration in the building took place during the reign of Charles I., when the hall was enlarged by the addition of two adjoining chambers in order to make it more commodious for the stabling of horses, to which low degree it had by that time fallen.

The grotesque heads, from which spring the arches of the fine oak and chestnut roof, and the stained glass which is contemporary with the building, are well worthy of note.

Not long after the building of the Palace an event took place there which shows how lax the discipline of an episcopal

and semi-monastic house had become under the influence of the New Learning.

This was none other than the birth of a child of Royal blood within the walls of the Palace. We will give the account as we find it set forth in the Egerton MSS. :—

“The christening of the Lady Fraunces, first begotten daughter of Charles, Duke of Suffolk and Mary the French Queen (daughter of Henry VII. of England and widow of Louis XII. of France).

“In the year of Our Lord 1517 and the ninth year of the reign of our sovereign lord King Henry VIII., Thursday, the 17th day of July, betwixt two and three of the clock in the morning, was born at Bishops Hatfield the first daughter of Mary, Queen of France, and Charles, Duke of Suffolk, whose christening was deferred till the Saturday next following, provision whereof was ordered in this manner following :

“First from the Palace to the Church was strawed of a good thickness with rushes, and the church porch was hanged and seiled with rich cloth of gold and needle work, and the church all hanged with rich cloth of arras of the history of Holofernes and Hercules, and the chancel hanged with rich cloth of arras of silk and gold, and the altar hanged with rich cloth of tissue, whereon were certain images, relics and jewels. And in the said chancel was the Queen of England's grace and my Lady Princesse deputies for them :—appointed for the Queen, my Lady Boleyn (Elizabeth, wife of Sir James Boleyn), for the princess my Lady Elizabeth Grey, and the Abbot of St. Albans, godfather. The font was hanged with a rich canopy of crimson satin, powdered with roses, half red and half white, with the sun shining and fleurs de lys of gold and the French Queen's arms in four places of the same canopy, all of needlework.

“And from the Palace to the Church were 80 torches borne by yeomen and 8 borne by gentlemen, about the said ladye in good order.

“And thus in good order, as aforesaid, the young lady was conveyed into the church with esquires lords and ladies.

“The bason covered was borne by Mr. Sturton—the taper

borne by Mr. Richard Long and the salt borne by Mr. Humphrey Barnes.

“ My Lady Shelton the Chrysom—Mrs. Dorothy Verney, bearing the young lady, assisted by the Lord Powys and Sir Roger Pilston, and accompanied with ladies and gentlemen sixty, and the prelates Sir Oliver Poole and Sir Christopher and others of my Lord’s chaplins.

“ And this done, the young lady was conveyed to the Queen’s grace her mother, and the name of this lady was Frances, for that she was born on St. Francis day.”

We give the description of this little lady in full, not because it is a faithful account of a magnificent ceremonial, but because afterwards she was to play her part in the drama of history as mother of Lady Jane Grey.

She was for a short period declared heir to the throne by Act of Parliament, and her claim was only set aside by the intrigues of Dudley Earl of Northumberland, in favour of her unfortunate daughter, Lady Jane Grey.

Lady Frances seems to have been the severe and approved type of English mother, for when Roger Ascham asked her daughter why she took so much pleasure in reading Plato instead of amusing herself in the park, like other young ladies of her age, she replied :

“ When I am in presence either of father or mother, whether I speak, keep silent, sit, stand or go ; eat, drink, be merry or sad ; be sewing, playing, dancing or doing anything else, I must do it, as it were, in such might, measure and number, even so perfectly as God made the world, or else I am so sharply taunted, so cruelly threatened, yea ! presently sometimes with pinches, nips and bobs and other ways (which I will not name for the honour I bear them), so without measure disordered, that I must think myself in Hell, till the time come that I must go to Mr. Aylmer ” (her schoolmaster).

About this date one of the rectors of Hatfield seems to have been a man of some note.

John Taillard, who held the living 1503–1534, was the son of poor parents, and was born at Barton, in Staffordshire.

He was presented to King Henry VII. as a curiosity, being one of three children born at one birth, and the King thereupon ordered that care should be taken of him, and that he should be sent to school.

The year after he entered upon the living he was sent as Ambassador to Burgundy, and in 1520 he accompanied Henry VIII., as Chaplain, to France on the occasion of the Field of the Cloth of Gold. Five years later he was made Ambassador to the French Court, and in 1527, as Master of the Rolls, he took the Order of the Garter to the French King. He was appointed one of the Commissioners to try the validity of the marriage of Henry VIII. with Katherine of Aragon, after which, with many others, he doubtless fell out of favour, for we hear no more of him.

We may infer that John Taillard had other sources of revenue than the living of Hatfield, for the value of the living at the time of the dissolution of the monasteries was only £36 2s. 1d.

CHAPTER IV.

Bishop West—Hatfield passes to the Crown—Value of Manor—Disparagement of Mary by Henry VIII.—Letter of Lady Brian to Thomas Cromwell—Education of Edward and Elizabeth—Abolition of Chantries—Accession of Edward VI.—Elizabeth implicated in Seymour's Plot—Inventory of Church Furniture—William May, Rector.

WITH the dissolution of the monasteries great changes were to come over the surroundings of the Palace of Hatfield.

Bishop West, who was the last Bishop of Ely to hold the manor, is said to have lived in greater splendour than any prelate of his day.

He kept in his train 100 domestics, to the humblest of whom he gave 40s. per annum, to the rest £4, supplementing their pay by an annual summer gift of $3\frac{1}{2}$ yards of cloth and by a winter gift of a cloak of 4 yards of stuff.

Not only was his retinue princely, but his charities equalled his magnificence.

He is said to have relieved no less than 200 poor persons daily at the gate of the Palace with meat and drink, so that the charity dispensed here must have been equal to that of a great monastery. Little wonder we read that when the monasteries were dissolved it was "pitiful to hear the lamentations which the country people made for them."

But with the death of Bishop West in 1533 these princely charities were to cease for ever, and Bishop's Hatfield was to lose the true significance of its name.

Henry VIII. had coveted this fair possession for some time, and one of the conditions on which Bishop Goodrich received the see of Ely in the following year was that he resigned both Manor and Palace of Hatfield to the Crown.

It is true that the King had the grace to give in exchange for Hatfield certain manors in the counties of Essex and Cambridge, but these were properties which only shortly before had been confiscated to the Crown, and in value and extent they were far inferior to the lands with which he proceeded to invest himself.

At this time the rental of the Manor of Hatfield was £48 ; two mills were worth in value £2, and the rent of the rabbit warren was £3 13s. 4d. The herbage of the park was worth £3 6s. 8d. ; the sale of wood from Combe Wood and other woods was £6 13s. 4d. The Palace was valued at £2,000.

Innings Park—that is, the N.E. portion of the present park—comprised 10 acres, and was worth £33 6s. 8d. Hatfield Great Wood, stretching away toward Cheshunt, contained 10,000 oaks and beeches, and was worth £400. Milwards Park contained 2,000 oaks and beeches, and was worth £80.

There were, in addition, two fishponds, a very necessary adjunct for fast days ; the whole making, doubtless, one of the fairest possessions in the south of England.

Henry, though he laid his hands on the Manor at the first opportunity, never resided at Hatfield himself, preferring to use it as a nursery for his children.

The Princess Elizabeth was brought here as a baby of three months, and a pathetic story is told of her earliest days here. Her elder sister Mary had been declared illegitimate, and had been sent down to Hatfield as a lady in the suite of her baby sister.

Henry, still enamoured of Anne Boleyn, rode down hither to visit his infant daughter, and during the visit the Princess Mary was refused audience of her father. Anxious even on his departure to gain some mark of the royal favour, she mounted to one of the towers of the Palace to wave him farewell, but the King set his face steadfastly toward London and rode on, heeding her not.

But the tide of fortune soon turned against the infant Princess Elizabeth, as may be seen from a letter of her gover-

ness, Lady Brian, to Thomas Cromwell, written probably after Anne Boleyn's execution. It runs as follows :—

“ Now it is so, that my Lady Elizabeth is put from that degree she was afore, and what degree she is at now I know not but by hearsay ; therefore I know not how to order her, nor myself, nor none of hers that I have rule of—that is, her women and her grooms ; beseeching you to be good Lord to my Lady, and to all hers, that she may have some raiment, for she hath neither gown nor kirtle nor petticoat, nor no manner of linen for smocks, nor kerchiefs, nor sleeves, nor rails, nor body stitchets, nor handkerchiefs, nor ruffers, nor biggins.

“ All these I have driven off as long as I can, that, by my troth, I can drive it no longer ; beseeching you that you will see that her Grace may have that is needful for her.

“ Master Shelton (the master of the household) would have my Lady Elizabeth to dine and sleep every day at the board of estate.

“ Alas ! my Lord, it is not meet for a child of her age to keep such rule yet.

“ I promise you, I dare not take it upon me to keep her Grace in health, an she keep that rule : for there she shall see divers meats and fruits and wine, which would be hard for me to refrain her Grace from it.

“ You may know, my Lord, there is no place of correction there and she is yet too young to correct greatly ; beseeching you that she may have a mess of meat to her own lodging, with a good dish or two that is meet for her Grace to eat of ; the reversion of the mess shall satisfy all her women and gentleman usher and a groom, which will be eleven persons on her side.

“ God knoweth, my Lady hath great pain with her great teeth, and they come very slowly forth, and causeth me to suffer her Grace to have her will more than I would.

“ I trust to God, an her teeth were well grafted, to have her Grace after another fashion than she is yet, so as, I trust, the King's Grace shall have great comfort in her Grace,

for she is as toward a child and as gentle of condition as ever I knew in my life."

This letter of Lady Brian's, concerning Elizabeth's youthful days, is of great interest not only as betraying Henry's fickleness and utter lack of heart, but also as foreshadowing the indomitable determination of the Virgin Queen.

There are some interesting references to the early education of Elizabeth and her little brother Edward. It is recorded that "they desired to look upon books as soon as the day began."

Their first hours were spent in prayer and religious exercises; the rest of the forenoon they were instructed either in languages or in some of the liberal sciences, or in moral learning. Elizabeth would then practise on the lute or viol, and was wont afterwards to employ herself with her needle. Roger Ascham, it is almost unnecessary to state, was her tutor, and Edward received his first lessons in the French language from Richard Coxe, afterwards Bishop of Ely. Their religious exercises were certainly not neglected, for, after the somewhat rigorous fashion in vogue of "calling upon children to hear sermons," Matthew Parker, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, preached before Elizabeth while in residence here, at the tender age of seven years.

One great change which this young brother and sister must have seen in the worship of their parish church was the abolition of the chantries, the first of which, in 1545, were confiscated to the King's use.

The chantry priests were no great credit to their kind, but the King had no right to the chantry endowments, which were private property, and probably James Shaw, priest of the Chantry of St. Anna in the parish church, was turned adrift without compensation of any kind.*

At the same time must have been suppressed the other two chantries of which mention has been already made—

* There appears among pensions granted to various persons during the reign of Mary an entry "To John Shawe, late incumbent of the Chantry of Hatfield, £6."

viz., the Chapel of St. Mary of Ludwicke and the Fortescue Chantry.

And now the happy pair of children, who had passed their childhood so pleasantly together, were to be separated for higher purposes.

Chauncy, who wrote his History of the County during Queen Anne's reign, gives the reason thus :—

“When King Henry VIII. dyed, the Earl of Hertford came with divers other lords to this place, where Edward VI. was kept and educated, and they conveyed him hence with a great number of the Nobility and Gentry to the Tower of London, in order to his Coronation.”

The boy King must often have thought of the leafy glades of Hatfield as his puny hands wielded the sceptre of the realm, and it seems a pathetic recollection of a happy past that in the fourth year of his reign he conveyed the Palace and Manor to the sister with whom he had resided there so long.

But not even her tender years, nor the comparative seclusion in which she lived at Hatfield, could protect the Princess Elizabeth from the dangers which threatened her on every side.

At the age of fifteen she was, apparently by the intrigues of Lord Seymour of Sudeley, drawn into the meshes of his plot against Edward, the purport of which was to put away the youthful monarch and to place his sister on the throne, Seymour, no doubt, intending in the confusion to take the reins of government into his own hands. In great haste the Council sent down to Hatfield Sir Robert Tyrwhitt to examine the Princess, but she acquitted herself with so much firmness and candour as to prove her entire freedom from complicity in the plot.

One great change must Elizabeth have seen during these short years of her brother's reign—the terrible spoliation of the furniture and appointments of the parish church under the Commission appointed in the last year of the reign.

It is sad reading—the long list of rich silks and velvets ; of vessels, silver and gilt ; of altar fittings, of church bells

and organs, all of them the property of our parishes, which were ruthlessly torn away from our churches merely to enrich the treasures of the great nobles.

This is the list which the Commissioner makes of the fittings of our church of St. Etheldreda in the year 1553 :—

“Imprimis V. Belles in steepeel and sance (sanctus) bell.

- Item. A great chalys doble guylte. XXXVIII oz.
- „ Another chalys parcel gilt. XIV oz.
- „ Another chalys of sylver. X oz.
- „ A crose of sylver plate contaynyng in ueyght with the wood and all. XVI oz.
- „ One clothe for the Pyx.
- „ VI Corporas caises of velvet and gold.
- „ I Cope of purpell velvet with spyne (spangles) of gold.
- „ A Cope of whyte damaske fluered with grene velvet.
- „ A cope of blewe velvet.
- „ A Cope of red Taffiate.
- „ III copes of changable sughtes of silk.
- „ A cope of whyt Damaske.
- „ A vestment of purpell vellat with a crose of gold.
- „ II vestments for deacons and subdeacons of blew sylke.
- „ A vestment of red Saye and another of blew Satyn—another of red chamlet—another of changeable Sylke—a fifth of whyt bostone.
- „ VIII Alter clothes.
- „ VI Towells.
- „ II Surpleses.
- „ A great cheste.
- „ VI Torches.
- „ One payer of organes.”

At the end of this long inventory we find the ominous entry :

“Frauncis Sothwell, of Hartingfordbury, gent, hath re-

ceyved from the Church of Hatfield, II challises of sillver and II vestments with other things, all which goods, he saith, he has received into his hands bie vertue of the King's Mai'tie."

There is small doubt that the spoliation in this instance was very complete, as nothing save the fabric remains of pre-Reformation days.

It will be interesting here to make mention of the Rector of Hatfield under whom all these changes took place.

William May, or Mayd, held the living 1535-1554, during all those years when the first and most violent scenes of the Reformation were being enacted. The tyranny of Henry VIII. had in 1545 passed an Act enabling doctors of civil law to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

Curiously enough, William May availed himself of the chaotic state of the Church, some ten years earlier, to accept the living of Hatfield while only a layman, though we find that he was ordained in the following year.

His testimonials were undoubtedly first-rate, for he is described as "a man of the most honest sort, wise, discreet, and well learned." He seems loyally and thoroughly to have accepted the principles of the Reformation, and to have done his utmost to forward them.

In 1547, the year of the royal tyrant's death, he was sent on a tour through several dioceses to explain and extend the principles of the Reformation. Like many another of the Reformers, he disappeared during the short reign of Mary, and probably took refuge on the Continent, but on the accession of Elizabeth he returned to his native country and took an active part in consolidating the settlement of the Church.

He was one of the Commissioners chosen by the Queen's Secretary, Sir William Cecil, to prepare for the re-introduction of the Prayer Book in English.

He rapidly rose to be Dean of St. Paul's, and was elected Archbishop of York, but died on the very day of his election, August 8th, 1560. He had resigned, or had been dispossessed of, the living of Hatfield some six years earlier

CHAPTER V.

Confinement of Elizabeth at Hatfield—Sir Thomas Pope's Masque—Mary's Jealousy of her Sister—Entertainment for the Queen at Hatfield—Elizabeth's Appointments for the Chase—De Feria's Visit—Announcement to Elizabeth of her Accession—Her First Privy Council—Relics of Elizabeth at Hatfield House—Elizabethan Plan of Palace—Church House—Fair in Churchyard—Penance in Hatfield Church—Strange Story of Bessie James—Botelers of Woodhall—Brockets of Brocket Hall—Readers of Brocket—Henry Bagswell and Robert Abbott, Rectors.

WITH her brother's death, Elizabeth entered upon troublous times. She had, it would seem, from her Cofferer's account-book, a small court of between 120-140 personages, but on the outbreak of Sir Thomas Wyatt's rebellion, which had been stirred up by Mary's marriage, she was hurried from the monastery of Ashridge, where she was in residence, to the Tower of London, where she was kept in close confinement.

Elizabeth was, however, able to prove her complete innocence of the plot, and in 1554 she was permitted to retire to her palace of Hatfield, under the guardianship of Sir Thomas Pope, the owner of the adjoining estate of Tyttenhanger, and subsequently the pious founder of Trinity College, Oxford.

We may well imagine that a woman of Elizabeth's abilities was well able to endure this somewhat rigid seclusion, reading her Greek books and translating from the Latin and French, as well as in her less strenuous hours playing upon the lute and virginals.

For some time, anyhow, she must have been under rigid surveillance, for, besides the fact that "Queen Elizabeth's Oak" marks the spot where she was found reading on the morning of her accession, there is no question that it marked

also the boundary which she was not allowed to pass in her daily walks.

Sir Thomas Pope treated his royal charge with much attention and respect, and devised sports and amusements for her at his own expense, more especially masques and stage plays. We have this record of one of them :

“ In Shrove Tide, 1556, Sir Thomas Pope made for the Lady Elizabeth, all at his own cost, a great and rich masquing in the Great Hall at Hatfield, where the Pageants were marvellously furnished.

“ There were there 12 minstrels, antically disguised, with 46 or more gentlemen and ladies, many of them knights or nobles, or ladies of honour apparelled in crimson satin, embroidered with wreaths of gold, and garnished with borders of hanging pearl. And the device of a castle of cloth of gold, set with pomegranates, about the battlements with shields of knights hanging therefrom, and six knights in rich harness turneyed.

“ At night a cupboard in the Hall of 12 stages, mainly furnished with garnish of gold and silver vessel, and a banquet of 70 dishes, and after a voidee of spices and subtleties, with 30 spiced plates, all at the charges of Sir Thomas Pope, and the next day the play of Holophernes.”

“ But the Queen,” says the chronicle, “ misliked these fooleries, as her letter to Sir Thomas Pope, it did appear, and so their disguisings ceased.”

Mary, however, was not wholly ill-disposed to her younger sister, and Elizabeth made several excursions to London to pay her court to the Queen, and was also present at some Christmas festivities kept by her and her consort at Hampton Court.

Her first visit to Court in the November of 1556 seems to have been something of a failure. She came on her visit to the Queen with much parade, but “ she found retirement so much better suited to her temper ” that, after a stay of only one week, she returned to Hatfield.

The next year Mary paid her a visit. On the morning

after her arrival, and after Mass, the Queen and Princess "were treated to a grand exhibition of bear-baiting, with which their Highnesses were right well entertained."

Supper that night was served in the Great Chamber, which was adorned for the Queen's reception with a sumptuous suite of tapestry called "The Hanging of Abtioch." After the supper a play was represented by the "Children of Pauls."

These "Children of Pauls" were a company of singers attached to St. Paul's Cathedral—and these choristers, the equivalent probably of our Choir Schools, used frequently to attend the great country houses for the entertainment of the nobility and gentry.

"After the play, one of the children, Maximilian Poynes, who had a divine voice, sang, and the Princess accompanied him on the virginals."

This seems to have been the last occasion on which the sisters met, and it is pleasing at least to think that their last meeting was one of harmony and affection.

Doubtless, among her amusements, Elizabeth indulged frequently in the pleasures of the chase, for, even after her accession, she would come down to the neighbourhood to hunt the deer in the thick forest land, which then lay an unbroken tract between Hatfield and Cheshunt.

There remains a fantastic account of one hunting party which set forth from Hatfield for Enfield Chase. Elizabeth was accompanied by a retinue of twelve ladies, clothed in white satin, on ambling palfreys, and twenty young men, in green, on horseback. At the entrance of the chase she was met by fifty archers adorned with scarlet boots and yellow caps, and armed with gilded arrows, one of whom presented her with a silver-headed arrow wound with peacock feathers. The sport ended, she was offered the usual privilege of cutting the buck's throat.

By this time Mary's unhappy reign was rapidly drawing to a close, and Fortune smiled once more on the Princess Elizabeth, who had been so long under a cloud. De Feria, the Spanish Ambassador, the very day before the Queen's decease,

left her dying bed to ride down to Hatfield in order to announce to Elizabeth that she might hold herself in readiness to ascend the throne before many days should pass. Within forty-eight hours he was followed down to Hatfield by a gallant cortège, including among its members the Earl of Pembroke, Lord Clinton, the Lord Admiral, the Earl of Arundel, the Lord Chamberlain, and many others, who hastened down to announce to Elizabeth that her long years of anxious captivity were now over, and that she would ascend the throne amidst the acclamation of the realm.

It is said that these nobles discovered the Princess seated beneath a tree, still known as Queen Elizabeth's Oak, engrossed in reading her Greek Testament.*

The ensuing day Elizabeth held in the Great Hall of the Palace her first Privy Council, which was attended by the Lords who had announced her accession and five other counsellors. One of her first actions was to appoint Sir William Cecil, commonly known to us as Lord Burghley, Secretary of State.

It is interesting also that, before taking one step towards London, and within three days of her sister's death, the young Queen arranged with Sir Thomas Gresham for a loan of £25,000 to recruit the exhausted exchequer, the former loan being raised at 12 per cent., the latter at 14 per cent., a fairly high rate of interest considering the security on which the loan was raised.

On Wednesday, November 23rd, 1558, Elizabeth removed from Hatfield to the Charterhouse, in Smithfield, where she was lodged in the Lord North's house, and "the great multitude of people that met her in her passage thither did by their words and countenance express the great joy of the Kingdom that she was advanced to the Crown."

Henceforward Hatfield as a royal residence sinks in the

* Dean Stanley, on hearing this story some three hundred years later, threw doubts upon the possibility of being able to read out of doors on a November day in England. Georgina, Lady Salisbury challenging his doubts, invited him down to Hatfield during the month of November, and, the autumn sun being propitious, the Dean was forced to admit that his doubts were unfounded.

One of the Illustrations to "QUEEN ELIZABETH" by the Bishop of Peterborough



Queen Elizabeth

Painted by the artist of the Master of the Court of the Queen

Engraved by Thomas de Witt

background, better accommodation no doubt being found for her gallant Court in her palaces of Hampton Court, Whitehall, and Greenwich.

She visited the home of her youth more than once, but solely for the purpose of hunting, and the little village which for so long had enjoyed fame as the home of prelates and princes must have experienced an unwonted quiet after the withdrawal of the Court.

Many interesting relics of the Elizabethan age are still to be found at Hatfield House, left at Hatfield doubtless when the palace was exchanged for Theobalds.

Among them we must mention the crystal posset cup and dish, presented to Philip and Mary on their marriage by the Spanish Ambassador, and the identical cradle in which Lady Brian must frequently have rocked the infant Elizabeth, the carved wooden end of which is adorned with her mother's monogram A(nna) R(egina).

There are three contemporary portraits of the Virgin Queen which are mentioned in the Inventory of 1611 : the first by Cornelius Vroom (51), representing her as Diana ; the second, painted by Nicholas Hilliard (50) in 1585, which is commonly known as the Ermine Portrait, from the ermine climbing up her sleeve ; and the superb Zucharo (52), known as the Rainbow Portrait, in which the Queen wears an allegorical dress powdered with eyes and ears to denote her vigilance, the left arm being adorned with the serpent of Wisdom. In her right hand she holds a rainbow surmounted by the inscription " Non sine Sole Iris," and pearls surround her neck to denote purity. In a glass case are preserved her garden hat, made of fine plaited straw, and also a pair of her stockings, made of undyed yellow silk.*

* On the 1st of January, 1559, Prince John of Sweden came, gorgeously apparelled, to the Court to offer New Year's greetings to Her Majesty.

That day Her Majesty's silk-woman, Mistress Montague, brought her for her New Year's gift a pair of knit black silk stockings.

The Queen, after wearing them for a few days, was so much pleased with them that she sent for Mistress Montague, and asked her, " From whence she had them ? and if she could help her to any more ? "

Further mementoes of her reign are found in the enormous picture of the white horse on which she rode to Tilbury to review her forces, massed to repel the Armada, and in a large collection of armour recovered from the vessels of that ill-fated fleet.

Last but not least is that unrivalled collection of MSS. dealing with the events of the day, out of which the whole history of the late Tudor and early Stuart period might be reconstructed, documents which bear on them throughout the impress of her two great secretaries, Sir William and his younger son Sir Robert Cecil.

Fortunately, there is preserved to us a plan of Hatfield Palace, made some time during Elizabeth's reign, showing the quadrangle of Morton's building complete, the great entrance gate of which faced the present W. front of Hatfield House. The Fore Street entrance faced the east end of the church, with the North Road running between them.

A little along the same road, at the S.E. angle of the church, stands "The George Inn," with its sign stretching across the road to attract the attention of the passer-by.

Oddly enough, the church is represented as crowned with a steeple, though this must be inaccurate, as nothing but a "Hertfordshire Spike" crowned the church tower till after Queen Victoria's visit in 1846. At the bottom of Fore Street stands the market cross, round which the weekly market probably took place.

The Great North Road is represented as turning off down Park Street, more picturesquely known to an earlier generation as Duck Lane.

A notable feature of parish life must still have been standing, in the Church House, of which we find mention during the reign of Edward VI. The Church House was the common

"I made them very carefully on purpose only for Your Majesty," said she, "and seeing these please you so well, I will presently set more in hand."

"Do so," replied the Queen, "for indeed I like silk stockings well, because they are pleasant, fine and delicate, and henceforth I will wear no more cloth stockings."

And from that time to her death the Queen never more wore cloth hose, but only silk stockings.

(Strickland's "Lives of the Queens of England.")

property of the whole parish, and was used for meetings, feasting and all such occasions, when more people were wont to meet than could be accommodated in the small low houses with which our ancestors were content.

In a survey of Hatfield made in 1551 the Surveyor reports : "Concerning Church Houses, one Church House, called the common Church House, belongs to the town, and serves for bridall feasts, and is let at other times of the year for the maintenance of the same house."

In the same survey three other tenements are mentioned as belonging to the church, and one at Woodside as "given to a Brotherhood."

Unfortunately, no trace of this gift can be found.

Little care seems to have been bestowed upon the surroundings of the church, and the churchyard was used in a manner which amounted to desecration.

Among the Hatfield MSS. about this time we find proof that fairs must have been held in the churchyard, and the state of the now beautiful surroundings of the church must have been deplorable after a cattle fair had been held among the tombs.

There are several entries under the heading, "Kyne bought for my Lord," of which these are specimens :

"Kyne bought by me for the Parsonage."

"Bought in the Church yard at Hatfield, one Kowe and Calfe, price £5 6s. 8d."

Hone states that fairs were held in our churchyards on or about the day of the patron saint until the time of Edward I. These extracts prove that the practice continued much later, as they have reference to the accounts of the first Earl of Salisbury during the reign of James I.

Another occurrence in the parish certainly refers to the reign of Elizabeth, as the exact date is given :

"April 4th, 1558.

"The Justices of the Peace order that Elizabeth Walshe shall on Monday, the eighth of this month of April, sit in the stocks in the churchyard of Hatfield aforesaid, from six of the

clock in the morning of the said day until the time of the beginning of divine service, and then to be brought into the Church there, having a white rod in her hand, and shall stand before the minister with her face towards the congregation until the second lesson shall be read, and then she shall publicly confess her fault and ask forgiveness of God and the congregation, and penitently desire the minister and congregation to pray for her. And after divine service ended, shall be stripped from the waist upwards, and so be led about the streets and circuit of the churchyard wall of Hatfield, and there severely whipped, and so re-delivered to the stocks again, there to remain in the stocks until evening prayer shall be ended, for an example to others."

This probably is as striking an example of the "godly discipline," of which the Communion Service tells us, as could be adduced, the purpose of such discipline being that at the beginning of Lent such persons as stood convicted of notorious sins were "put to open penance and punished in this world, that their souls might be saved in the day of the Lord." Nevertheless, after reading this penance enacted in Hatfield Church, we cannot wish the said discipline to be wholly restored.

A curious bit of local history has come down to us through Mr. Wilton Hall. It is given as follows :

"A story relating to the murder of a child named Anthony James by an innkeeper's wife at Hatfield, now most miraculously revealed by the sister of the said Anthony, who at the time of the murder had her tongue cut out, and four years remained dumb and speechless, and now perfectly speaketh, revealing the murder, having no tongue to be seen."

It appears that a party of nine men and women attacked the house of a yeoman in Essex named Anthony James, murdered him and his wife, and brought the two children, Anthony and Elizabeth, to Dell's Inn, in Hatfield, on a horse, in a pair of panniers.

Why the Dells should wish to murder the children we are not told, but that same evening the boy was killed in the back

yard and his body thrown into a pond, and the poor girl's tongue was cut out. The wretches gave a beggar a piece of money to take her away, and he turned her adrift in Hatfield Wood, where she was found in a hollow tree, and succoured.

She strayed away from Hatfield, but wandered back three years afterwards, when she was greatly agitated at the sight of the Dells and of her murdered brother's coat, and was identified as one of the two children brought there three years before.

The Dells were thereupon arrested.

The climax of the story came one day when the child was at play with a companion in the park. A cock beginning to crow, the companion mocked it, crying, "Cock-a-doodle-doo, Peggy has lost her shoe," and said to the dumb child, "Bessie, canst thou do so?" whereupon Bessie began to speak. The town gathered in flocks to hear the miracle, and Bessie then related all about the murder of her brother.

She was severely cross-examined by the Justices, and the following curious test was applied :

One of Sir Henry Boteler's men, to make further trial of her constancy herein, watching her abroad in Hatfield Park, attired himself in a vizard with horns like a devil, and out of a thicket stepped before her and threatened her that in that place, where she first spake, he would tear her in pieces for belying the Dells.

The girl answered : "Good Gaffer Devil, do not hurt me ; I speak nothing but truth, and what the thing within me instructeth me to speak."

The Dells were afterwards tried and executed.

The mention of Sir Henry Boteler tempts us to make a short digression concerning the Boteler family, who, during the Stuart period, were of some account in Hertfordshire, holding among others the Manors of Tewin and Hatfield Woodhall.

Sir John Boteler bought the latter manor in the time of Elizabeth from the Bassingbourne family, and having married Grisil, daughter of Sir Wm. Roche, of Lamer, Lord Mayor

of London, 1540, bequeathed the manor to his second son, Sir Henry Boteler, knighted 1. Jac. I.

He was succeeded by his eldest son, Sir John Boteler, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir George Villiers, of Brokesby, Co. Leicester, and eldest sister of George, Duke of Buckingham.

Fortune smiled on him owing to this distinguished connection, and he was advanced to the peerage by Charles I. as Lord Boteler, of Brantfield. Of the daughters of this marriage, two married Grooms of the Chamber to Charles I., Jane being the wife of Mr. Ashburnham and Olive the wife of that distinguished gentleman, Mr. Endymion Porter. Other daughters were the Countesses of Chichester and Newport and Lady Howard, of Escrick.

But the fortunes of the family were short-lived, for of Sir John's sons only one, William, survived him, and he died childless, the barony thereby becoming extinct.

By settlement the Manor of Hatfield Woodhall devolved on Sir Francis Boteler, of Tewin, a distant cousin. We shall have cause to mention this man and his distinguished courtesy later on.

Another family of distinction at this period was the Brocket family, who resided at Brocket Hall, at the extreme northern corner of Hatfield parish. Sir John Brocket, who died in the sixtieth year of his age, is commemorated by an altar tomb on the south wall of what is now termed the Brocket Chapel.

This Sir John was a doughty knight, twice Sheriff for the county, 1566 and 1581. In 1585 he was entrusted with the training and inspection of the men levied in this part of Hertfordshire at the time of the Armada. He escorted them to Tilbury, where they joined the other levies, under Sir Rowland Lytton, Lieutenant of the County.

Among the archives of St. Albans is a letter from Sir John to the Mayor of St. Albans commanding him thus :

" I have a mynde to vewe your soldiars at Nomansland upon Tuesday next at six o'clock in the morning . . . we do

allowe to every soldiari xii.d. the day for his wages and one pounce and a halfe of powder for the two days, and ii.d. for matche. . . .”

Sir John survived the Armada ten years, and was buried at Hatfield in the year 1598.

To the east of Sir John's tomb is a curious monument of two female figures reclining on their elbows, which was erected to the memory of Dame Elizabeth Brocket (d. 1612) and Dame Agnes Sanders, her mother (d. 1588).

Dame Elizabeth was the second wife of Sir John Brocket, who married, firstly, Helena, daughter of Sir Robert Lytton, by whom he had five daughters, the youngest of whom, Mary, married Thomas Reade, and to whose descendants Brocket passed on failure of male issue. By his second wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Roger Moore, of Burcester, he had one daughter, Frances, who married Dudley, third Lord North.

Concerning this lady's marriage we find the following quaint extract from the diary of John Manningham, 1602 :

“ I hear that the young Lord North was married to Mrs. Brocket, Sir Jo. Cutts his lady's sister ; being constraind in a manner through want of money while he lived in Cambridge ; he had some £800 with hir.

“ She is not young nor well favoured, noe marvaile if he love hir not.”

To the east, again, of the Brocket and Sanders monument, is a large white marble monument of the middle eighteenth century, by Rysbrack, to Sir James Reade, great-grandson of Sir John Brocket, and to Sir John Reade, his son, who died of smallpox in Rome in the year 1711, in his twenty-second year. With him name and title became extinct, and the property passed to co-heiresses, who eventually sold it to the Lamb family.

The two rectors who held the living of Hatfield during the reign of Elizabeth were men cast in a Puritan mould, and far different in their opinions to their distinguished predecessor, William May.

Henry Bagswell (1560-1584) seems to have been one of

those Puritan ministers who refused to conform to the use of the Prayer Book.

Three Articles were put forth for the clergy to sign :

1. To acknowledge the supremacy of the Queen and not of the Pope in this realm.
2. To consent to the use of the Prayer Book.
3. To assent to the Thirty-nine Articles.

Bagswell refused to subscribe his name to these, yet continued to hold his living, and was buried in the church, June 8th, 1584.

His successor, Robert Abbott (1584-1613) was, if anything, a more rigid and austere man. Brother to George Abbott, Archbishop of Canterbury, he himself soon obtained preferment, and became Master of Balliol College, Oxford, and subsequently Bishop of Salisbury.

He was an author who enlivened his works on divinity by writing for all good Protestants a somewhat caustic warning, "The Mirror of Popish Subtleties." A commentary on the Epistle to Romans has since passed into oblivion.

He resigned the living in 1613.

CHAPTER VI.

Exchange of Hatfield for Theobalds by James I.—Lord Burghley—Burghley Sermon—Sir Robert Cecil—His Offices—Mislikes the Queen's Raillery—Created Earl of Salisbury and Lord High Treasurer—Masque at Theobalds—Robert Cecil inspects Hatfield—Building of Hatfield House—The Earl sickens—Goes to Bath—Dies at Marlborough—Burial at Hatfield—The Earl's Philanthropy—His Appearance—Gardens of Hatfield House—Evelyn's Visit—The Vineyard.

WE now take up the thread of the history of Hatfield where it was broken by the death of Elizabeth, 1603.

Her successor, James I., on his progress from Scotland to London, was entertained at Theobalds, near Cheshunt, the magnificent mansion which the Lord Treasurer, Burghley, had erected some years previously.

James never forgot the amenities of Theobalds, and in the fourth year after his accession persuaded Sir Robert Cecil, Burghley's younger son, who shortly before had been created Earl of Salisbury, to exchange the house and property of Theobalds, which he had lately inherited, for the Manor and Palace of Hatfield.

The exchange was proposed on the part of the King of the "alleged advantage of the neereness of Theobalds to the Cittie of London northward, and to His Majesty's forest of Waltham Chase and Parke of Enfield, with the comoditie of a navigable river falling into the Thames at a place convenient for His Majesty's princely sports and recreation, and so commodious for the residence of His Highness's Court."

The manor, palace, and the three parks—Hatfield Wood, Innings Park, and Middle Park—were to be held in fealty at the annual rent of £64 12s.

Of Lord Burghley we need say little here, as his connection with Hatfield is so slight and his fame is known wherever the history of England is read. He was twice married, firstly, to Mary, sister of Sir John Cheke, by whom he had one son, Thomas, Earl of Exeter ; secondly, to Mildred, daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, by whom he was the father of Robert, Earl of Salisbury.

We have a slight link with Elizabeth's Lord High Treasurer, in that he left an endowment to his old college of St. John's, Cambridge, for sermons to be preached annually at Theobalds and Burghley by a member of the college.

On the exchange of Theobalds for Hatfield the sermon was transferred to the latter parish, and for three centuries the Burghley Sermon has been preached in St. Etheldreda's in memory of the founder.

There are two fine portraits of Lady Burghley (28 and 29) at Hatfield, both by Lucas de Heere, and many portraits of her husband, the finest of which is by Marc Gheeraedts the elder (36).

The rise of Robert Cecil, his younger son, whose fortunes are so closely connected with Hatfield, seems, under his father's auspices, to have been rapid.

He was born somewhere about the year 1563. His first public duty was to accompany the Earl of Derby on an embassy to the Court of Henry IV. of France in the year 1585, and in the same year he received a summons to Parliament as member for the City of Westminster.

In 1591 he was knighted and sworn of the Privy Council, and five years later he became Secretary of State under Sir Francis Walsingham, upon whose decease he became Principal Secretary. In 1597 he became Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and on his father's death succeeded him as chief adviser to Elizabeth.

The Queen early marked out Robert Cecil for favour, on account of his abilities both as statesman and courtier, but even for him the path to honour was not without its thorns.

He was, judging even from his portraits, high-shouldered

and somewhat deformed ; the figure on his tomb represents him as undersized, only 5 ft. 2 in. in height.

Elizabeth, much as she prized his services, tempered her favours by constantly addressing him as "the little man," "the pigmy," and "the elf," all which names Cecil resented, though he was too good a courtier and too wise a man ever to show his resentment.

Quite early in life he writes to his father : "I received a gracious message from Her Majesty, under her sporting name of pigmy, bidding me take care of my health, and looking to hear from me."

He continues that he had not presumed to answer the letter, but adds that he had sent a letter to Mr. Stanhope, his cousin, "which I know he will shew her. I show I mislike not the name she gives me only because she gives it."

Robert Cecil has been somewhat unjustly blamed for maintaining a correspondence with James VI. of Scotland while he was serving his Queen with that fidelity and attachment which caused him to be known as the staff of her declining years.

James was undoubtedly the lawful heir to the throne of England, through his unfortunate mother, Mary Queen of Scots, and in his secret correspondence we may trace Cecil's anxiety that the kingdom might be spared those intrigues and chicaneries which seemed inevitable on the death of the Queen, an event which could not then be long delayed.

Anyhow, Robert Cecil had long determined on his policy, and on the Queen's death he was one of the first to meet her successor at York on the way south.

Henceforward honours fell thick and fast upon him. James might call him "foole, parrot-monger, and monkey-monger," to which names Cecil did indeed take exception, but the King valued his services and attachment sufficiently to make him Baron Cecil of Essendine almost immediately on his accession. The next year James created him Viscount Cranborne, this being the premier viscountcy created, and in 1605 he received the Earldom of Salisbury and the honour of the Order of the Garter.

Three years later, on the death of the Earl of Dorset, the Chief Secretary succeeded him as Lord High Treasurer of England. Sir Robert Cecil—or, as we must now know him, the Earl of Salisbury—was as astute in conciliating his petulant, whimsical master as he had in former years been in retaining the good opinion of his fickle and domineering mistress.

On his way south, as we have seen, James had been entertained at Theobalds, and the King having set his affections on it, a special Act of Parliament was passed for the exchange of Hatfield for the fine mansion which Burghley had bequeathed to his son Robert. The deed of conveyance was signed May 14th, 1607.

The Earl of Salisbury gave up the possession of his home with a grand entertainment, in the preparation of which Ben Jonson took part.

In the masque written by that great author in honour of the exchange, which was played before the King at Theobalds on May 22nd, 1607, the opening stanzas spoken by "Genius" ran as follows :

"Let not your glories darken to behold
 This place and me the genius here so sad,
 Who by bold rumour have been lately told,
 That I must change the loved lord I had.
 And he now in the twilight of sere age
 Begin to seek a habitation new,
 And all his fortunes and himself engage
 Unto a seat his fathers never knew."

The Earl also intimated that he was relinquishing his father's monument, not from any desire to build a more ambitious dwelling, for he had already been busied too much with mortar.*

But Cecil's mind must already have been filled with great

* Theobalds, after being occupied by James I. and Charles I. as a royal residence, was dismantled 1651, the materials being sold for the benefit of the Parliamentary soldiery.

projects for a new mansion. Even as early as April 15th, 1607, he writes to Sir Thomas Lake :

“ I must confess to you that I have borrowed one day’s retreat from London, whither I am now returning this morning, having looked upon Hatfield also, where it pleased my Lord Chamberlain (Thos. Howard, Earl of Suffolk), my Lord of Worcester (Edward Somerset), and my Lord of Southampton to be contented to take the pains to view upon what part of the ground I should place my habitation.”

Nor did he allow the grass to grow under his feet after this preliminary view of his new possession. By the autumn of the same year Tattenhall, in Staffordshire, Worksop, in Notts, and certain quarries in Northamptonshire were contributing stone for the projected house, and the Earl had got a warrant from the King of France for £500 worth of Caen stone, while a large portion of the Tudor Palace was dismantled to provide the necessary bricks.

Mention is even made of a newly discovered material found upon the estates of the Earl of Northumberland, which “ has a rich agate colour ” when polished.

It would be interesting to know whether this is a reference to the discovery of granite for building purposes, as two large shafts of this stone were employed to support the arches of the Salisbury Chapel some eleven years later.

Many names have been suggested as the architect of that splendid pile which we know as Hatfield House, among them the names of John of Padua, who built Longleat ; of Bernard Jansen, who built Audley End ; and of Thorp, who had been employed to build Burghley House.

Probably not one of these guesses is correct, and as no names are mentioned in the Hatfield MSS. it seems probable that the Earl, with the marvellous versatility characteristic of his age, was his own architect.

Certain it is that his master mason was one Conn, and the head carpenter was by name Lyminge, and that these men acted as builder and surveyor in their own departments.

The Earl’s steward, Thomas Wilson, paid the wages and

exercised a general supervision, and the correspondence between him and his master affords us a clear view of how the work went forward.

Late in the autumn of 1607 the ground was cleared for the foundations, and by the summer of 1609 the new house had reached the roof of the present hall and the floor of the great chamber, now the library. The estimate for the building at that date was £8,146, less £710 if certain ornaments were omitted.

At the commencement of 1610, notwithstanding the hindrance caused by the wet autumn of 1609, the building was so far advanced that Janivere, a Fleming or Frenchman, was sent down from London to take the measurement for the wainscot and oak chimney-pieces, the designs of which were to be submitted to the Earl for approval.

By November 23rd the wainscot and panelling had been completed.

Hitches undoubtedly there were, as the letters from the Earl to Robert Lyminge show. On one occasion, the work not proceeding as fast as was expected, a surveyor was sent down to make a report, to which the two master workmen were to put their hands.

On another occasion 2,500 more bricks were required than estimated, and the Earl writes to know the reason.

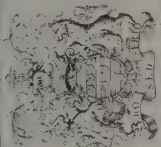
Progress is denoted by such orders as "the glazier is to set up as much glass in those windows where the scaffolds may be conveniently taken down," and "a load of pease straw to be used for the stopping of the other windows, for the keeping of the weather out of the house."

By the spring of 1610 £5,424 had been expended, and £3,779 more was required to finish the work. The increase in expenditure was occasioned partly by the alterations in the chapel, amounting to £150, and to £50 besides for a new chapel window. This glass, of Flemish manufacture, representing subjects from the Old Testament, is still *in situ*, save for one light which was blown out by a great storm and which has been not unsuccessfully replaced.



THE END

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Baron Cecil of Easington, Solicitor in the County of Melford -

2-2-10

Rebecca S. S. S.

There are also some very fine eggs at various heights by the trees.

By May, 1611, the house was practically ready for habitation. The hall was filled with tables and forms, and the screen was ready for fixing. The scaffolding erected for "whiting" the ceiling of the gallery was to be taken down.

By the middle of January the masons had already paved one-third of the chapel with black and white marble, and the "closet, chimney-piece and hangings, chairs and stools for the chapel, were suitable ready." We know also that "Dallam was to be sent down to tune the pipes of the wind instrument." But the great Earl was never destined to inhabit the mansion which he had planned on so magnificent a scale.

In the December of 1610 he was attacked by rheumatism in the right arm, and, having gained no permanent relief, he was recommended by the Bishop of Durham to try the waters of Bath.

Soon afterwards he was attacked by scurvy and dropsy, and towards the end of April he set out for Bath, attended by three physicians. The King himself took leave of him with tears, and charged his physicians "on their heads to be careful of him."

In his last letter to his son William, dated May 8th, he complains that the swelling in his legs and knees had not been diminished by the use of the waters, and he evidently expected no relief.

Anxious, perhaps, to look once more upon the great structure the rearing of which for the last four years had been the object of his heart, he set out for Hatfield, but, being seized by mortal sickness on the road, he died at the Parsonage house in Marlborough, on May 24th, 1612, between one and two in the afternoon.

His Chaplain has left a full account of the Earl's death :

"How, though sinking rapidly, he insisted on standing erect with the aid of his crutches, while prayers were being offered. How he repeated the principal parts with affection, then, lying with his head on two pillows and his body in a swing, called for Dr. Poe's hand, which he gripped hard, when his eyes

began to settle and he sank down without a groan, sigh or struggle."

In his will, which shows him, as did indeed the whole tenor of his life, to have been a deeply religious man, he directs that his body shall be buried in Hatfield Church, without any extraordinary show or spectacle, and that a fair monument shall be erected, the charge thereof not to exceed £200.

The mourners were to be confined to his own servants and intimate friends, for he desires "to go without noise and vanity out of this vale of misery as a man that hath been long satiated with terrestrial glory, and now contemplates only heavenly joy."

To Hatfield his body was borne after being embalmed, and was buried, without any great pomp, on Tuesday, June 9th.

By his wife, Elizabeth, daughter of William Brooke, Lord Cobham, he left two children, William, who succeeded as second Earl, and Frances, who married Henry, Earl of Cumberland.*

Though much has been said and written about Robert Cecil, one side of his character has been but little dealt with, namely, his practical philanthropy, so far in advance of his age.

We find record of it as soon as he took possession of Hatfield in 1607, for shortly after his arrival he set about finding work for the people "whereby they should not live in idleness, as heretofore they have done." He made an agreement with Walter Morrall, a merchant, to establish a factory in which fifty persons of the parish of Hatfield should be instructed in weaving, spinning, carding, knitting, and making stuffs, laces, and fustians, and also in dyeing. This manufacture was to be all in wool, wool being a staple commodity.

Twenty of these were to be his apprentices, for whom he had to provide meat, drink, apparel and teaching. To the rest he was to pay the wages usually paid in Essex for the same work. He was to cause all the fifty to repair to the Parish Church every Sabbath Day. The Earl bound himself to pro-

* A charming portrait of this lady, by Geldorp, hangs in the summer drawing-room at Hatfield House (76).



Robert Cecil, 1st Earl of Salisbury
by Marc Gheeraerts

vide a fit house for the factory, and to pay Morrall £100 a year towards his expenses. The factory was duly established with a dyeing house and fulling-mill, presumably at Mill Green. It appears to have flourished for some time, and we get so far as to find record of the purchase of a pair of Hatfield hose for 4s.

But after the Earl's death decay set in. Morrall complained that the parents took the apprentices away from him, probably to earn ready money in the fields.

The factory lingered on for some ten or fifteen years after the Earl's death. Later than this time we find no record of it.

The Earl, however, did not wholly ingratiate himself with his tenantry and neighbours, as he enclosed a large portion of Hatfield Great Wood, which till then had been an open tract of woodland.

Some rhymer of the day has left us this couplet reflecting on Robert Cecil's action :

“Not Robin Goodfellow, nor Robin Hood ;
But Robin the encloser of Hatfield Wood.”

With Robert Cecil's features and presence we are as familiar as though he had lived yesterday, both from his portrait by Marc Gheeraedts (60), painted in 1608, and from the effigy on his tomb, executed by Simon Basyll in 1614.

We are tempted to close this short memoir of his life and work with the description of him by a contemporary, Sir Robert Naunton.

“For his person,” he writes, “he was not much beholden to Nature, though somewhat for his face, which was the best part of his outside. For his inside,” continues he, “it may be sayd without offence that he was his father's owne sonne—a pregnant president in all his discipline of state ; he was a courtier from his cradle.”

It is impossible to close any description of the building of Hatfield House without reference to the gardens, which absorbed as much of the Earl's attention as his house.

The garden on the west side of the house belonged to the

old palace, and, save for four venerable mulberry trees planted by James I., is in design much as it was in the days when Elizabeth took her pleasure therein.

The garden on the east side, with the great flight of steps descending from the terrace, the bowling-green and the maze—all now reconstructed on the original plan—coincides in date with the house.

Originally there were to have been fountains, "two in the quarters of the upper part, and one in the midst of the lower part, each receiving their water from that next above it."

The two gardeners were Montague Jennings and John Tradescant, afterwards horticulturist to Charles I., and father of the still more celebrated John Tradescant who founded the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.

The gardens at Hatfield were of account even at an early date, for Evelyn makes mention of them some fifty years later, as follows :

"Went to see my Lord of Salisbury's palace at Hatfield, where the most considerable rarity besides the house were the garden and vineyard, rarely watered and planted.

"They shewed us the picture of Secretary Cecil in mosaic work, very well done by some Italian hand."

This portrait which so much struck Evelyn's fancy is the mosaic portrait (61) still over the mantelpiece in the library, which was executed in Venice in 1609, at the order of Sir Henry Wooton, the English Ambassador, as a present for William, Viscount Cranborne.

Sir Henry, in prefacing his gift, copied, as we know, from a portrait by De Critz, states : "It is the workman's spetiall sute and remembrance that it may be set in his true light and at a little more height for the eye than a coloured picture would require."

Sir Henry was less happy in another present—a series of sacred subjects painted by some Venetian artist, which still is to be seen in the gallery of the chapel.

But to return to the gardens.

The gardens on the east and west side of the house, beautiful

in their way as they are, are even less remarkable than the pleasaunce which we know as "The Vineyard," and which was known originally as "The Dell."

This retreat was designed by a Frenchman, as we learn from a letter written by Thomas Wilson, the Earl's steward ; and at the time of the visit of Evelyn it must still have possessed many of the fountains which were originally devised for it.

"At the river," writes Wilson, "the Frenchman meaneth to make a force [a forcing machine] at the going out of the water from the island, which by the current of the water shall drive up water to the top of the bank above the dell, and so descend into two fountains."

The scheme of the garden was probably one of prim topiary work in yew, descending in parallel alleys to the bank of the Lea, the lower levels being carpeted with that uniquely beautiful green sward which exists to this day.

Doubtless "The Vineyard" passed through an era of neglect in the eighteenth century, as did everything else at Hatfield, and the yews shot up beyond the control of any gardener ; but as one passes to-day down through the long-drawn aisles and fretted vaults of yew one hardly regrets that Nature has to some extent asserted herself.

On the other side of the water the Earl planted those stocks from which the place has taken its name.

Madame La Broderie, wife of the French Ambassador, procured for the Earl 20,000 vines, at the cost of £50, and a further 10,000 were expected.

"This evening came to me," says the steward, "the French queen's gardener, that hath brought over the fruit trees for the King and your Lordship ; 2,000 for the King and above 500 for your Lordship.

"There are two other gardeners, besides this man, sent over by the French queen, to see the setting and bestowing of these trees."

Other friends helped the Earl considerably in the stocking of his garden. From Lady Tresham at Lyndon he received the offer of fifty cherry-trees ; vines and nectarines from Sir

Edward Sulyard ; and liquorice, with explanations for its culture, from the Earl of Shrewsbury.

These alone remain in the famous garden.

The vine stocks either became worn out and were not replaced, or else the climate of Hatfield was not found to be conducive to a fine vintage ; the latter, unless the seasons have greatly changed, was the more probable reason.

CHAPTER VII.

Viscount Cranborne's Letter to Raleigh—William, 2nd Earl, erects Salisbury Chapel and Tomb to His Father—His Political Vacillation—Marriage of Viscount Cranborne—Vandyck's Portraits—Henry Rainsford, Rector, dispossessed—Sermon in Hatfield Church—Lease of Rectory and Tithe—2nd Earl supplements Living—Stephen Eure and Ponsbourne Chapel—Richard Lee, Rector—Sermon by Dr. Lee at St. Paul's—Dr. Wilde's Scurrilous Lines on Dr. Lee.

FROM Robert Cecil's successor, William, the second Earl, to whom Queen Elizabeth stood godmother, there is among the Hatfield MSS. a delightful letter written as a child of nine to Sir Walter Raleigh, begging the great explorer to come to Hatfield.

"Sir Walter," writes the child, "we must all exclaim and cry out, because you will not come down.

"You, being absent, we are like soldiers, that, when their Captain are absent, they know not what to do : you are so busy about idle matters. . . ."

Could anything have spoken of Raleigh's charm of manner more vividly than this child's letter ?

Although the inheritance upon which he entered was a princely one, it was not wholly unencumbered, for his father had left debts to the extent of £37,867, as a set-off against which he had lent money to the extent of £16,437.

William Cecil, although, doubtless, somewhat short of ready money, was not disposed to show any lack of respect to his great father's memory, and considerably exceeded the sum stipulated by his father in his will to be set aside for his monument.

We have here the estimate set forth by Simon Basyll, the

surveyor of the King's Works, for the recumbent figure of the Earl, supported by emblematical figures,* which still stands at the east end of the Salisbury Chapel.

"January 4, 1613 (1614)—A note of such stone as is required for the finishing of the intended tomb, according to a model thereof made for the Right Hon. the late Lord Treasurer of England, with an estimate of the workmanship and setting up :—

of white marble for the 6 figures	140 ft.
of tuche for both the tables	70 ft.
of Kaen for enrichment	3 ft.
The charge of sawing and carving of the 6 figures, if they be done according to art and true proportion, are worth £60 a piece	£360
The two tables of tuche, with sawing, polishing and workmanship of the same	£60
The carriage of the said tomb to Hatfield, setting of it up and finishing	£40
	<hr/>
Sum. tot.	£460
Sy	BASYLL.

"It is very requisite that there should be models made of the figures first, to see whether they are according to proportion, which if they be made, there must be consideration had of that charge." †

Moreover, Earl William took pains that the monument should be suitably housed, and in February, 1618, he commenced the building of the Salisbury Chapel, which was completed by the end of the year. The builder's estimate for this chapel, including all charges, amounted to £432 19s. 4d. ; provision being made for a vault underground twelve feet square. The chapel, which then was separated from the chancel by two, and not as now by three, round arches of

* This Monument was designed by Maximilian Colt.

† An interesting feature of this tomb is that the Earl bears in his hand the identical white wand which he bore before the Sovereign as Lord High Treasurer, and which he bequeathed by his will to be placed on his monument.

Renaissance character, was intended originally to be merely a mortuary chapel.

'The family pew was erected somewhat earlier than this date in the north transept, as the bill tells us :—

"Aug. 1612. Setting up seats on the north side of the Chancel." Some of the retainers, doubtless, sat in the body of the Church, for in October of the same year there is another bill for "two seats in the Church."

The second Earl was in no way a man of like character to his father, his proclivities being for hunting rather than for statecraft.

In the large full-length portrait (86) on the Grand Staircase he is depicted in the hunting dress of the period ; in the background there is a distant view of Hatfield House and of a stag-hunt to mark his predilection.

This and the companion portrait of his wife (83) Catherine Howard, daughter of Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, are painted by Geldorp, keeper of the pictures to Charles I. The Earl's portrait was painted *Anno* 1626, *ætatis suæ* thirty-five.

There is another portrait at Hatfield painted in the same year (85) by Vandyck, depicting him as a languid, melancholy man, wearing the badge of the Garter, his right hand resting on a dog's head.

His conduct to his King during the Civil War was not one of devoted loyalty.

At the outbreak of the Civil War he rode with the King to York, and then suddenly returned to join the Parliament, for which he acted as Joint Commissioner at the Oxford and Uxbridge Conferences. He sat in Cromwell's House of Lords 1645-48.

Doubtless, Clarendon divined his motives accurately when he writes somewhat bitterly that the Earls of Pembroke and Salisbury had more thought for their mansions of Wilton and Hatfield than they had for their principles or loyalty for their King.

He tells us, too, that the latter was "a man of no words except in hunting and hawking. He always concurred in what

was proposed by the King (James I.) and cancelled it by concurring in all that was proposed against him."

We may, however, forgive him something, in that his vacillation undoubtedly caused the preservation of Hatfield House from the victorious armies of the Parliament, which completely dominated the county from the commencement of the war.*

William Cecil, doubtless from his anxiety to repair the impoverished family fortunes by a good marriage for his son and heir, earned the character of being grasping and avaricious.

George Garrard, writing to Edward, Viscount Conway, March 28th, 1639, says :—

"Lord Cranborne is to be married to a younger daughter of James Maxwell, to whom he gives £18,000 ; £4,000 in jewels and £800 a year in land in Scotland and England. A great portion ! But I hate marriages made for money, and they have lost their reputations, both father and son, for his avariciousness."

This Lord Cranborne never succeeded his father, of whom, to judge from Vandyck's portrait of him (80), he was but a feeble echo.

The great heiress whom he married had the additional attraction of a very fair face, as her companion portrait by Vandyck (82) shows, and she bore him a family of twelve—seven sons and five daughters.

However much the Lord of Hatfield satisfied the authorities of the Parliament, the Rector of the parish was less successful.

Henry Rainsford, the rector 1613–1646, certainly did his best to conform to the Puritan notions then prevalent, as he accepted both the Solemn League and Covenant and the use of the Directory in place of that of the Prayer Book. He was, nevertheless, called upon to make choice between his living of Great Stanmore, in Middlesex, and that of Bishop's Hatfield, in Hertfordshire, and he thereupon resigned the latter, probably because it was worth very little in point of income.

The Parliament then ordered that "the Rectory of Hatfield

* For a short time, after his surrender to the Parliament, Hatfield House gave shelter to the unfortunate monarch, Charles I., when on his way to London.

shall stand sequestered from him to the use of some godly and orthodox divine." Aug. 2nd, 1646.

Henry Rainsford seems to have exercised a great laxity of discipline during his cure, to have performed his duties mainly through curates, and to have admitted preachers of all persuasions to his pulpit. An amazing instance of Antinomianism is to be found in a sermon preached in the church Thursday, Feb. 8th, 1644, by one Robert Baldwin, a Baptist minister.

He was accused of "praying neither for the King, Parliament, nor Synod, but absolutely against all authority," and further that, preaching from 1 St. John v. 2, he had urged "that baptism is not to be ministered to infants," and "that the Sacrament of the Supper is not to be ministered by us; that catechising is papistical; and that our churches are idolatrous as the temples of Diana."

These somewhat sweeping statements could not be stomached by good Mr. William Tutty, Presbyterian minister of Totteridge, and he challenged him to a discussion, to be held at "Mimm's steeple house," on the points "that ministers of the Church of England are members of Anti-Christ and stewards of the mystery of iniquity," and "that infants of days are not fit subjects of baptism."

Robert Baldwin was brought to the bar of the House of Lords, and "the House ordered that the said Robert Baldwin, for endeavouring to stir up sedition, shall stand committed to the prison of the Gate House in Westminster.

On Aug. 20th in the same year he was released "with a command not to commit the same offence again; if he does, he must expect to be more severely punished by this House."

Mr. Rainsford was compensated for the loss of Hatfield by shortly afterwards receiving the living of Tewin, where he died 1651-2.

Just at this date a Commission of Parliament was held to inquire into the value of benefices, and the Commissioners found that the value of Hatfield was £460. This, however, as we know, was in lease to William, Earl of Salisbury, and

for the incumbent there was reserved upon lease only the sum of £36 2s. per annum.

The Earl, however, behaved generously, and increased the value of the living for Mr. Richard Lee to £200 in the year 1650.

The history of the lease is curious, if not particularly reputable.

In 1562 the advowson of the living passed from the Crown to Richard Onslow, whose brother Fulk is buried in the chancel of the parish church, and whose resting-place is still marked by a beautiful little Renaissance tablet in the wall.

The presentation remained in the Onslow family till the year 1607, when it passed into the hands of Robert, first Earl of Salisbury.

Some years previously, however, one of the rectors, presumably Robert Abbott, in consideration of a sum paid down by the Onslow family, gave to them a one hundred years' lease of the rectory and tithe, reserving only the sum of £36 2s. per annum for the rector.

The first Earl made use of the Old Rectory as his habitation during the building of Hatfield House, and the inventory still exists of the furniture there during the time of his residence.

He was, nevertheless, aware that the position of the rector was intolerable, and to give him a suitable dwelling he caused the Old Vicarage to be built, and augmented the income reserved as stipend to a living wage.

During the Commonwealth we come across a curious notice of the use of the chantry chapel of the Fortescues and of the sorry pass to which it had come.

In the year 1653 Sir Thos. Fanshawe, presumably owing to heavy fines laid on him by the Parliament, sold the Manor of Ponsbourne to Stephen Eure, an attorney of Watford, for £5,000.

Eure being a Nonconformist, Ponsbourne was registered for worship, and the Ponsbourne Chapel at Hatfield was used only as a place of burial and as a source of income from the seats therein.

Shortly before the Restoration we find a "Petition of the Churchwardens and the Inhabitants of Hatfield" setting forth that "Stephen Eure of Ponsbourne refuses to pay three several assessments for the repair of the parish church, amounting in all to £3 7s. 1d., unless the parish will consent to repair Mr. Eure's chapel, adjoining the church. The said chapel is appropriated to him, and he receives the benefit both of the seats therein and its burying ground.

"The petitioners conceive that the repair of the chapel should be borne by him as owner, and that he should not be exempted from contributing his proper share to the parish taxes towards the repair of the said church.

"They beg an order for the recovery of the said sum."

Let us hope they got it from this niggardly curmudgeon.

Martha, the wife of Stephen Eure, was buried in the chapel Aug. 6th, 1664.

Richard Lee, the rector to succeed Henry Rainsford, was a most interesting character; a man of great determination and power, and yet the prototype of the celebrated Vicar of Bray.

He was born 1611, the year in which Hatfield House was finished, and early showed himself one of the foremost Puritans in Hertfordshire.

So great was his zeal in inducing men to take the Covenant that the Committee at Romford presented him with a piece of plate for his services.

On the enforced resignation of Henry Rainsford in 1646, he was the "godly and orthodox divine" chosen in his place.

Though Richard Lee seems to have accepted ordination for himself, he does not seem at this time to have held the holy office in high esteem, for in 1652 he was one of those who signed a petition to the House of Commons, praying "that persons of gifts and godliness should preach and receive the public maintenance and that a Committee of ministers and others might sit in every county to examine and approve such as are called to preach."

His political principles brought him good preferment, for in

1655 he was appointed to the living of Little Gaddesden, and the next year Cromwell himself gave him the rectory of Berkhamstead St. Peter.

Always keeping his finger on the popular pulse, Mr. Lee was prompt to attend upon General Monk at St. Albans on his march to London, and on Jan. 29th, 1659-60, he preached to the army under his command.

Strange it is to find that, when the Restoration of the Monarchy was in the air during the early months of 1660, the rector of Hatfield was called upon, by the Levy of Arms made upon the inhabitants of Hatfield, to find three foot arms on April 28th, and one pike and one musket on May 17th.

The Restoration, however, passed off quietly enough, and Richard Lee kept abreast of the times. So well stood he at Court that Charles II. presented him with the living of Hatfield, the preferment of which had fallen to the Crown by lapse, and Lee was instituted Dec. 19th, 1660.

Nor did the Act of Uniformity, 1662, present any difficulties to the now formally instituted rector: all scruples concerning the use of the Prayer Book and subscription to the Articles had long since vanished.

Nay, he even must attest his orthodoxy in public places!

We find this sonorous preface to a discourse, dedicated to Archbishop Sheldon, which the worthy divine delivered three years later in St. Paul's Cathedral:—

“Sermon preached at St. Paul's Church, London, Nov. 29th, 1663, by Richard Lee, D.D., Chaplain to the Most Renowned George, Duke of Albemarle, and Rector of King's Hatfield in Hartfordshire, wherein was delivered the Profession of his Judgement against the Solemn League and Covenant, the Late King's Death,” etc.

No more ministers in Geneva gown for you now, Richard Lee, Doctor of Divinity and Chaplain to a Noble Duke! Even “Bishop's Hatfield,” the good old name, or “Cecil's Hatfield,” as Robert Cecil would have had it called, suffice you not now. Nothing but “King's Hatfield” will satisfy so loyal a subject.

Dr. Lee, however, was not wholly to escape the lash of his whilom Puritan brethren, and the following are extracts from a poem by Dr. Wilde on the Rector of Hatfield, entitled "The Recantation of a Penitent Proteus ; or The Changeling in the Pulpit" :

" Three times already I have changed my coat.
Three times already I have changed my note,
I'll make it four, and four-and-twenty more,
And turn the compass round, e'er I give o'er.

" From Hatfield to St. Albans I did ride,
The army called for me to be their guide,
There I so spurned her, that I made her fling
Not only dirt, but blood upon my king.

" My Cambridge sins, my Bugden sins are vile,
My Essex sins, my sins in Ely-isle ;
My Leicester sins, my Hatfield sins are many,
But my St. Albans sins more red than any.

" Take from my neck this robe, a rope's more fit,
And turn this surplice to a penance sheet ;
This pulpit is too good to act my part—
More fit to preach at Tyburn in a cart."

Dr. Lee, however, survived the acrimony of his late friends, and died at the age of threescore and thirteen in the year 1684. He is buried in the chancel, but his monument has disappeared.

CHAPTER VIII.

Pepys' Visits to Hatfield—Hatfield Tokens—James, 3rd Earl, supports Exclusion Bill—Miss Strickland's Account of Duke of York's Visit to Hatfield—James, 4th Earl—His Marriage and Perversion—Sacramental Plate used at James II.'s Coronation—Lord Salisbury committed to the Tower—He carries his Younger Brothers off to France—History of Monmouth's Portrait—the Earl's Character and Death—Sir Francis Boteler, of Woodhall—His Character—Relics of Woodhall—Boteler and Shallcross Charities—Destruction of Woodhall.

WE get some interesting glimpses of Hatfield shortly after the Restoration, which no one but that dear intimate gossip, Mr. Samuel Pepys, in his Diary, could have given us.

They are somewhat lengthy, but as they give such a vivid picture of the traffic up and down the Great North Road, as well as of the village life, we quote them in full :—

“July 22nd, 1661.

“Up by three, and going by four on my way to London ; but the day proves very cold, so that having put on no stockings but thread ones under my boots, I was fain at Bigglesworth [Biggleswade] to buy a pair of coarse woollen ones, and put them on. So by degrees till I come to Hatfield before twelve o'clock, and walked all alone to the Vineyard, which is now a very beautiful place again ; and coming back I met with Mr. Looker, my Lord's gardener (a friend of Mr. Eglins), who showed me the house, the chappell with brave pictures, and, above all, the gardens, such as I never saw in all my life ; nor so good flowers, nor so good goosebury's, as big as nutmegs.

“Back to the inne, and so to horse again, and with much ado got to London.”

Within a month the Diarist was again at Hatfield, on his way from Huntingdon, where he had relations living.

On the night of Aug. 6th he lay at Baldwicke (Baldock).

"Being called up at three o'clock," he writes, "was a-horse-back by four.

"As I was eating my breakfast, I saw a man riding by, that rode a little way upon the road with me last night ; and he being going with venison in his pan-yards to London, I called him in, and did give him his breakfast with me, and so we went together all the way.

"At Hatfield we bayted and walked into the great house through all the courts ; and I would fain have stolen a pretty dog, that followed me, but I could not, which troubled me."

Pepys is a man without shame of any sort ; he cared not whether men saw him riding in company with a dealer with "venison in his pan-yards," nor does he show compunction for his breach of the Tenth Commandment, being ever a most curious medley of good and ill.

Two years later Mr. Pepys reappears again from Huntingdon ; this time in company with his long-suffering wife.

On the night of Sept. 20th, 1663, the worthy pair slept at Bigglesworth.

"Up very betimes by breake of day and got my wife up, whom the thought of this day's long journey do discourage ; and after eating something and changing of a piece of gold to pay the reckoning, we mounted and through Baldwicke, where a fayre is kept to-day, a great one for cheese and other commodities, and so to Hatfield, and here we dined ; and my wife being very weary, and believing it would be very hard to get her home to-night, and a great charge to keep her longer abroad, I took the opportunity of an empty coach that was to go to London, and left her to come in it to London, for half a crown, and so I and the boy home as fast as we could drive, and it was even night before we got home."

One can almost hear the groan of having to break into that piece of gold at Biggleswade for his wife's entertainment, and the heartfelt sigh of relief on finding an empty coach at Hatfield, and so being quit of the "great charge to keep her longer abroad."

It is so evident that the Diary was not for his wife's eye.

A year later he is at Hatfield again.

"Oct. 16, 1664.

"Got to Hatfield in church time, and I light and saw my simple Lord Salisbury there in his gallery."

Little he thought, Earl William, that in that late comer there was "a chiel among them taking notes," and that this masterly designation "simple" was his to all eternity.

However, with all these visits the Diarist's unsatiable thirst for knowledge was not quenched, and he makes one more Sunday jaunt to Hatfield, this time decidedly tempered by devotion, owing to a striking sermon from the rector, Dr. Lee.

"Aug. 11, 1667.

"To the wells at Barnett by seven o'clock and there found many people a-drinking; but the morning was very cold, so we were very cold all the way in the coach.

"And so to Hatfield, to the inn next my Lord Salisbury's house, and there rested ourselves and drank and bespoke dinner, and so to church, it being just church time.

"Did hear a most excellent good sermon which pleased me mightily and very devout; it being upon the designs of saving grace, where it is in a man, and one sign, which held me all this day, was, that where that grace was, there is also the grace of prayer, which he did handle very finely.

"In this church lies the former Lord of Salisbury, Cecil, buried in a noble tomb.

"Then we to our inn, and there dined very well and mighty merry; and walked out into the Park through the fine walk of trees, and to the Vineyard and there showed them that, which is in good order, and indeed a place of great delight; which, together with our fine walk through the Park, was of as much pleasure as could be desired in the world for country pleasure and good ayre.

"Being come back, and weary with the walk, the women had pleasure in putting on some straw hats, which are much worn in this country, and did become them mightily, but especially my wife.

“So, after resting awhile, we took coach again, and so back to Barnett.”

The inn to which Pepys and his party repaired was probably “The Salisbury Arms,” at the top of Fore Street ; possibly it may have been “The George,” a little further up the London Road.

The reference to straw hats is extremely interesting, as it shows us that the straw-plaiting of Luton and the neighbourhood was already flourishing, but that straw hats had not yet come into general fashion.

We delight, indeed, to read that our dear gossip was “mighty merry” on his last recorded visit to Hatfield.

These were probably prosperous days for the village, for we find many tokens struck at this date for the inhabitants :—

“John Thomas at the Holy Lamb 1666.”

“Thomas Senn at ye Chequers 1667.”

“Robert Barnard at the George at Hatfield 1666.” Each strikes “his Halfepenny,” marking it on the obverse with the sign of his inn.

John Scruby and Joseph Faircloth strike their farthing tokens, marking them severally with a tree and a bell.

William, second Earl of Salisbury, died in 1668, and was succeeded by his grandson James, eldest son of Charles, Viscount Cranborne and the Lady Jean Maxwell his wife.

As a boy of twelve he was Page of Honour to Charles II. at his Coronation, and in the autumn of 1666 served against the Dutch on the *Royal Charles*.

In 1676 he was made a Privy Councillor, and four years later received the Garter, as had both his predecessors.

He married the Lady Margaret Manners, daughter of the eighth Earl of Rutland, and had a family of five sons and five daughters.

One incident only stands out in his life history, and relates to his strenuous opposition to the Duke of York’s (James II.) succession, and to his support of the Exclusion Bill.

This is how Miss Strickland, in her “Lives of the Queens of England,” relates it :—

"The Princess Anne accompanied them as far as Hatfield,* where they intended to sup and sleep the first night. Cold was the welcome that awaited the royal travellers there.

"James had signified his intention of honouring the Earl of Salisbury with a visit at Hatfield House, not imagining that the Earl, though politically opposed to his cause, could be guilty of a paltry manifestation of personal ill-will to him on such an occasion.

"The event proved how greatly James had miscalculated the nature of the man, to whom he was willing to owe a courtesy, for when he, with his sick and sorrowful consort and her ladies, arrived at the close of a cold autumnal day, weary and out of spirits, they found Hatfield House dark and desolate, no other preparations having been made for their reception than the inhospitable ones of removing everything that might have conduced to the comfort of tired guests.

"The lord of the mansion had withdrawn himself to Quick-shot, a place about six miles off, whence he sent his son to excuse his not coming to wait on his Royal Highness, 'for that he had been let blood five days before.'

"The only provisions for the entertainment of the Duke and Duchess that appeared were two does on the hall table, one barrel of small beer in the cellar and a pile of faggots.†

"Comparisons, not more odious than correct, were of course freely made between the inhospitable lord of Hatfield and Nabal, by the hungry followers of the Duke, when, like Michael Scott's man,

'They sought bread and gat nane.'

"Fortunately for the whole party, they were near a town

* The Duke of York and Mary of Modena, his wife, were obliged, owing to the Duke's unpopularity, at the request of the king to leave St. James's and to set out for Holyrood, October 27th, 1679.

† Here Miss Strickland inserts this note: "The two does were probably shot by the young Lord Cecil, who became a stanch adherent of James II., followed his fortunes in adversity with two younger brothers, and died in his service at St. Germain, a ruined man." It is unfortunate for the truth of history that Miss Strickland sometimes allows her prejudice and sentiment to outrun her veracity. James, fourth Earl, the young Lord Cecil of this romance, did not die at St. Germain, ruined and in exile, but in obscurity at his house in Gerrard Street, Soho.

where food was to be obtained, not only for money, but for love ; and the humblest tradesman there would have scorned to deny it to the brother of his sovereign.

" If it had been otherwise, the Duchess and her ladies must have gone supperless to bed, and in the dark too, for there were neither candles nor candlesticks left in the palatial halls of Hatfield, so minutely careful had the Earl been to remove every means of affording the slightest comfort to his self-invited guests.

" The Duke's servants sent into the town to buy all things necessary, even to candles and candlesticks.

" The gentlemen of the neighbourhood were so charitable as to take the Lord Ossory and many others into their houses, where they were well entertained.*

" Such is the account exultingly given by Algernon Sidney of the churlish treatment experienced by their Royal Highnesses from one of the peers of his party.

" The Duchess and her ladies made no complaint.

" James indicated neither anger nor surprise, but, probably reminded by conduct so unlike the munificent hospitality of the ancient nobility of England, that his titled host came not of gentle blood, retaliated his discourtesy with the lofty contempt it merited by declaring his unwillingness to be burdensome to so poor a lord, and directed his comptroller, Sir John Worden, to pay for what had been consumed. The steward actually took money for the faggots and received eight shillings for the small beer."

The third Earl, who thus niggardly received his future sovereign, died in June, 1683, at the age of thirty-five, and was buried at Hatfield.

He was succeeded by his son James, fourth Earl, who married Frances Bennet, daughter and co-heiress of Simon Bennet, of Bechampton.

This scion of the House of Cecil showed none of the acuteness of his great ancestor, and, so far from improving the for-

* Algernon Sidney's Letters to Henry Savile, Ambassador at the Court of France.

tunes of his family, had a fatal gift for always doing the wrong thing just at the wrong moment.

He married his wife before she came of age, with such injudicious haste that he lost the greater part of her fortune, forfeiting it to his astute brother-in-law, John Bennet, who was the gainer by this ill-timed marriage, which he certainly hurried forward.

He then proceeded to Rome and made the Grand Tour, and on his return, as Chauncy tells us, "gave large testimonies of his duty and loyalty to King James II."

Whether it was for the hope of royal favour, or whether (and this seems probable) his convictions were sincere, on the very eve of the Revolution of 1688 he perverted and joined the Church of Rome.

Fortunately for Hatfield, his perversion took place late in the reign of James II., and not at the commencement.

The Earl received, possibly by virtue of his office as Gentleman of the Bedchamber, the Communion plate used at James II.'s Coronation, and generously presented it to his native place.

It consists of two large massive flagons, with two chalices, patens and plates *en suite*, all silver gilt, and bears the hall-mark of 1684.

The Coronation of James II. and that of King John are the only instances in the annals of English history when the monarch did not receive the Sacrament.

This Communion plate, still in use at the parish church, bears on each piece the inscription: "The Parish Church of Bishop's Hatfield in ye County of Hertford, 1685."

The Earl, on his perversion, was presented by the Grand Jury of Middlesex as a Popish recusant, and was impeached by the House of Commons in Oct., 1689, for high treason.

He was committed to the Tower of London, where he was confined for the space of nearly two years, at the end of which time the prosecution was dropped and he was set at liberty.

Prynne gives a less edifying story concerning his convictions:—

"This Earl," he writes, "had the ill luck to turn Papist just two or three months before the Prince of Orange came in, and became a mighty fat unwieldy man, so that he could scarce stir with ease about, though he was not over thirty-nine or forty years old.

"When he heard that the Prince was landed, he lamented sadly, and cursed and damned all about him, crying, 'O God, O God, I turned too soon—I turned too soon.'"

That he was in earnest, however, about his change of faith seems apparent from his extraordinary behaviour concerning his younger brothers.

On his succession to the earldom two of these were still at Eton under the guardianship of trustees, their father, with his strong Protestant leanings, mistrusting the stability of his elder son.

Determined, however, that his younger brothers should be brought up in the faith which he had adopted, he drove down to Eton in coach and four and carried them off to Paris, where he had them educated in Romish tenets.

The experiment was not a successful one. The young men's morals were loose, as French morals proverbially are, and one night, falling to a quarrel in their bedchamber, the one ran the other through with his rapier, and he was taken up dead.

Of William Cecil, who fell in this midnight duel, there is a portrait at Hatfield by Wissing—a pretty boy with large brown eyes and a lace cravat.

The survivor, Charles Cecil, was hastily spirited away, but even on his travels Fate dogged his footsteps, and he was set upon in the streets of Rome by assassins and poignarded, September 2nd, 1702.

The fate of these two brothers is the grimmest page in the annals of this distinguished family.

There is an interesting relic of the fourth Earl's duplicity in a picture hanging upon the Grand Staircase (108). This picture is a replica of one in the possession of the Earl of Clarendon at The Grove.

Till 1840 it was considered to be merely a somewhat inferior portrait of the fourth Earl by Dahl, but on restoration it was discovered that there was another portrait beneath the surface paint.

On removing the outer coat, this was found to be the figure of the unfortunate Duke of Monmouth in consultation with the intriguer Ferguson, who prompted his ill-starred expedition against James II. Ferguson, whose figure has never been uncovered, is pointing with his finger to a globe placed before him and indicating the passage from Holland to England.

The Earl, on his adherence to the policy of James, probably wished to delete all traces of his former relations with Monmouth, and so had his own portrait painted by Dahl over this now inconvenient picture by Wissing.

James Cecil lived a suspect, "much sinned against by having his name forged to a document purporting to be that of an association sworn to seize the Prince of Orange dead or alive," and probably it was well for the good of his house that he died in 1694 at the age of twenty-nine, leaving an only son, three years old.

The strong Protestant bias of Macaulay thus sums him up : "Salisbury was foolish to a proverb ; his sluggish body was the abode of an equally sluggish mind." However sluggish he was he did not lack bravery. He commanded a troop of horse against the Prince of Orange, and even after his imprisonment in the Tower, drew his sword in a coffee-tavern upon a man who impugned the courage of James II., for which offence he was again imprisoned.

Of his wife, Frances Bennet, there are two portraits at Hatfield by Sir Godfrey Kneller, one of them (118) representing her as a widow—a sad woman with an unattractive pout. It is well known from the mezzotint by John Smith.

Shortly before the Earl's death there departed this life, at Woodhall, in the parish of Hatfield, a man of a far more attractive personality.

Sir Francis Boteler was a fine specimen of those men who

have always formed the backbone of the English Parliament, the smaller country gentlemen.

He was son of Ralph Boteler, of Tewin Hall, and succeeded to the Manor of Woodhall on the extinction of the issue of Lord Boteler, of Brantfield. He served under Thomas, Earl of Stafford, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, where he learnt the art of war, and on the summons of his King to York, in the spring of 1642, rallied stoutly to his aid.

For this the King conferred on him the honour of knighthood, May 1st, 1642.

After the Commonwealth he served his country as Justice of the Peace and Deputy-Lieutenant, and was elected as member for Hertford in the Parliament held I. Jac. II.

He married twice, firstly Anne Cokayne, a daughter of the well-known Derbyshire family, and, secondly, Elizabeth, sister of Fulk Tudor, D.D., Rector of Tewin and Stevenage.

An interesting description of this fine old gentleman is given by Chauncy :

“ He was somewhat tall in stature, spare in body, neat in habit, comely in person, very obliging to his lady and most affectionate to his children ; he was grave in his deportment, yet pleasant in his aspect ; he was very modest in speaking, and free from all pride and ostentation ; he was endowed with some competency of learning and good education ; he was master of great reason and understanding, and qualified with a vast memory and a great presence of mind, so that he could extempore reduce a long speech, delivered in confusion, under proper heads in good language and excellent method.

“ His manner of delivery was very graceful, without any affectation ; he was very impartial in all his acts of justice, and he would not be biassed by any ; he was always very loyal to the King and very zealous for the service of the Church, which he daily frequented during his residence in London, where he generally spent the winter part of the year when age grew upon him.

“ He was well skilled in the discipline of military affairs and reputed an excellent soldier ; he always kept a genteel table,

treated his neighbours with great courtesy, assisted his friends with much willingness on all occasions, and relieved the poor with great cheerfulness, yet would reprimand those that commonly used the trade of begging."

As we have no portrait of this excellent man, we are glad to have so good a word-picture. His portrait, if such existed, must have been burned in the disastrous fire at Woodhall, when the mansion was burned to the ground.

We have some idea of its importance from a distant prospect of it in the well-known print of the "Review of the Volunteers by George III. in Hatfield Park."

Two relics of Woodhall still remain to us : one a beautiful wrought-iron gate, now leading into the east garden of Hatfield House ; the monogram F.B. still remains in the upper portion, intertwined with oak leaves and acorns. The second is the Renaissance doorway to Woodhall, bearing over it a shield quartered with the Boteler arms ; it is not unlike the doorway on the north side of Hatfield House. It has now been re-erected in that portion of the east garden which overlooks the New Pond.

Tradition says that Sir Francis was wont periodically to ride his horse up the steps of Hatfield House, and so right through the armoury to the south side ; for he asserted that the mansion had been erected over a bridle-path, which should never be closed to him.

Sir Francis, in his lifetime, made a benefaction for the poor of Hatfield, which still exists as the Boteler Charity.

In 1678 he conveyed to trustees a farm called Clarkes, otherwise Leggs, in Ludwick Hyde, the rent and profits to be divided equally for ever among five poor widows, to be nominated on the feast day of St. Michael by such person as should be seized of the messuage of Hatfield Woodhall, four of the said widows to be inhabitants of Hatfield and one of Tewin.

The fine marble slab which marked Sir Francis's burying-place still exists, but it is hidden away in the west entrance to the church.

Sir Francis died October 9th, 1690, and, leaving no son, the estate passed to his daughter, Julia, widow of Francis Shallcross, of Digswell.

Her only son, Francis, took the name of Boteler, but died two years later, January 13th, 1693, *æt.* eighteen, and the bereft mother and widow, in writing his epitaph, put on the stone her own also : " And when God please, the body of Julia, his afflicted mother, widow of Francis Shallcross, of Digswell, and one of the daughters of Sir Francis Boteler, Knight."

Julia Shallcross' memory still smells sweet in her bequest, dated 1720, of " £9 per annum to three poor widows of this parish for ever, the Rector of Hatfield and the owner of Digswell to be nominated as trustees of the estate."

Thus ended the direct line of the Hatfield Botelers, and the estate was soon afterwards sold, passing in 1792 into the possession of James Cecil, first Marquess of Salisbury.

Rumour, handed down by very old inhabitants, hints that the Marquess found it uncongenial to have so large a mansion in the vicinity, vying with Hatfield House in splendour ; and that, after the fire which destroyed part of it, he caused the rest to be pulled down.

Of the original house only a very small portion of outhouse, with a spiral chimney, now remains. There was originally a fine pigeon-cote, one of the largest in the neighbourhood, in close proximity to the house, but this was either burned or pulled down.

CHAPTER IX.

James, 5th Earl, marries Lady Anne Tufion—Endowment and Rules of Countess Anne's Charity School—Chauncy's Description of the Church in 1700—the Bells and Chimes—Rules of the Belfry—Charles Cecil, Rector of Hatfield and Bishop of Bangor, enlarges the Rectory—Pope's Manor—Friendship of Richard West with Thomas Gray—Their Interchange of Poems—Death of Richard West—Character of James, 6th Earl—Marriage with Miss Keet.

JAMES CECIL, fifth Earl, who succeeded in infancy, seems to have inherited much of his father's lethargic temperament, but he was ruled by his most able and masterful consort, the Lady Anne Tufton, daughter of Thomas, sixth Earl of Thanet.

She espoused him when he was but eighteen, and for nineteen years she swayed Hatfield.

Her lord, as we judge him from his extremely ugly portrait by Dahl (127), was stolid and good-natured, more remarkable for his huge turned-out feet than for any other characteristic. He bore St. Edward's Staff at the Coronation of George I.

Countess Anne, however, was cast in a very different mould.

Tall, somewhat shrewish, and with piercing black eyes, as her portrait by Dahl (137) shows her, she is the embodiment of the spirit of ruling.

To her we owe those glorious copper beeches planted at the south-west angle of Hatfield House, which are one of the salient features of the gardens.

She also endowed a charity school for forty girls, thus showing herself a pioneer of education. As the rules of the foundation are very quaint we transcribe them in full :

“Orders to be observed in this Charity-School As given by The Right Honourable Anne, Countess of Salisbury, the 29 day of September 1735.

- (I) That 20 Girls be Taught on the Foundation to Read, Sew, Knit and Mark in order to Fit them for Services : And the School to consist of Forty Girls only.
- (II) That an exact List of their Names be kept and called over every Day.
- (III) That none be admitted under Nine and none continued after Fifteen years of age.
- (IV) That if any of the Charity-Children are absent from School three Days in one Month (times of Breaking up and a Month in Harvest and Sicknefs excepted) they are to be Expelled.
Also in case they are guilty of Swearing, Pilfering, or any other disorderly Behaviour, as well out of School as in School ; And likewise if they are not kept Neat and Clean.
- (V) That Prayers be read every Morning and Afternoon with the Psalms and Lessons appointed for the Day.
- (VI) That the Children continue at School in Summer from Seven oClock to Twelve in the Morning, And from Two to Five in the Afternoon : And in Winter from Eight to Twelve in the Morning and One to Four in the Afternoon.
- (VII) That two Lefsons be said in the Morning and two in the Afternoon.
- (VIII) That all Days be alike except Thursday and Saturday to One oClock in the afternoon : And that on those Days the Explanation of the Church Catechism or Foxes Publick Worship be Taught weekly. And whereas many have abused the Charitable Disposition of the said Countess of Salisbury by taking their Children out of the School

before they were qualified as aforesaid For Services contrary to her Ladyships Charity and good intentions, It is therefore most strictly to be observed.

- (IX) That whoever take their Child or Children out of the School without the Consent and Approbation of the said Countess of Salisbury, neither Themselves nor their Children shall for the Future partake of her Ladyships Bounty in any kind whatsoever."

A most finished sampler, setting forth these terms, still hangs as a tribute to her memory in the school which bears her name.

On it, depicted in the finest sampler stitch, two charity maidens, with close-fitting caps and starched white collars, dressed in the laced bodice and hooped skirt of the day, still bear aloft for the scholars the conditions under which the first charity children worked.

Good Countess Anne ! She did her work thoroughly and with a firm hand, and in her day there was no local authority or Government inspector to presume to interfere.

The school was originally held in the Tudor buildings immediately adjoining the gateway.

History relates that Countess Anne beat her eldest son in his youth so unmercifully that he turned out badly ; these evil propensities, however, were probably a legacy from his father, which his mother's wise correction was unable to eradicate.

Chauncy, in his description of Hatfield at this period (1700) gives this picture of the church :

"This Church is erected near the town in the Diocese of Lincoln, after the manner of a cross, with one Isle covered with tile and ceiled within, but the Cross [transepts] is covered with lead.

"There is a gallery near the Steeple, and a fair tower at the west end wherein hang a ring of five large bells ;

the tower is covered with lead, having a short spire erected upon it."

These bells must have been recast and others added, as the date on the present bells is not earlier than 1786.

The peal was presented by Amelia, Lady Salisbury, wife of the first Marquess, who also presented the carillon which still plays every three hours.

As the names of the tunes are not commonly known it will not be out of place to state them :

Sunday.—"Hanover." This is better known to the present generation as the tune of "Disposer Supreme."

Monday.—"Clasper Clown," or "Jingling Johnny."

Tuesday.—"Auld Reekie."

Wednesday.—"The Old Belleisle March." Of the words of this nursery rhyme it has been possible to discover thus much :

"When I was a bachelor,
A-living by myself,
All the bread and cheese I got
I put upon a shelf.
The rats and the mice
They led me such a life,
That I had to go to London
To get myself a wife.

Chorus :

Going up to London,
Going up to London,
Going up to London to get a little wife ;
Fine shoes and stockings,
Fine curly hair,
Riffle raffle round her neck and not a smock to wear.

The fields they were so broad,
The lanes they were so narrow,
The only way to get her home
Was to wheel her in a barrow.

The wheelbarrow broke,
My wife she got a fall,
A plague take the wheelbarrow,
Little wife and all.

Chorus :

Going up to London "

Thursday.—"Adam and Eve." One verse of this curious old ballad runs as follows :

"Old Adam, he lay in a slumber
And God took a rib from his side,
And when he awoke he did wonder,
To behold his most beautiful bride."

Friday.—"Malbrook s'en va-t-en guerre." An old French ballad composed early in the eighteenth century, on a false rumour that the Duke of Marlborough had died of a fever.

Saturday.—"Step In." This very secular ballad tells how Mrs. Boniface would have John step in to take a tankard of ale, while John's wife bids him "Come home and put your clean shirt on."

Two curious old wooden tablets, among others, hang in the bellringers' chamber.

The first is headed "College Youths," and proceeds :

"These bells, which were cast and hung by Mr. Jno. Briant of Hartford, were opened by the above Society on Monday, June 5, 1786, with a Complete Peal of 5120 Changes called Oxford Treble Bob, which were performed in Three Hours and Thirty Eight Minutes."

The second contains "Rules and Orders of this Steeple."

"If any Person pulls a Bell down with a Hat or Spurs on ; Curse or Swear ; Smoke ; or overset a Bell ; shall for every of the above offences forfeit the Sum of Sixpence."

"By order of the Society." *

* A curious custom was, within the memory of many still living, observed in Hatfield on Shrove Tuesday. At midday an old man of the name of Buff was wont

In the lower gallery at the west end were placed the wind instruments and singers, and this continued to be the situation of the choir until the church was restored in 1871.

Charles Cecil, son of the Hon. Robert Cecil, and grandson of the third Earl, was Rector of Hatfield 1719-1737, and to him it would seem that we owe the enlargement of the Old Rectory to its present size.

The lease of the rectory and tithe to the Earl of Salisbury had recently expired, and the living was presented by the fifth Earl to Charles Cecil, his cousin.

The Rector of Hatfield soon afterwards became Bishop of Bangor, but in all probability continued to reside out of his diocese, a not uncommon failing among Welsh bishops of the eighteenth century.

The drawing-room at the Old Rectory has a fine plaster ceiling, decorated with medallions in relief of the arms of the Cecil family.

From this we may infer that Charles Cecil preferred his native place and a fat rectory to the more onerous duties of his Welsh diocese.

There is to the south-east of Hatfield Park a most delightful stretch of wild country, covered with gorse and overshadowed by magnificent oak trees. This is known to-day as Pope's Farm, and few have any idea of its former greatness. In the eighteenth century it was known as Pope's Manor.

A fine old manor house occupied the site of the present farm, and in front of it ran a straight canal in the formal fashion of the day; while deep down in the valley beneath was a spreading sheet of water, caused by the damming up of the end of the valley.

At the back of the house was spread out the pleasure garden, commanded by a great mound, surmounted by a gazebo or summer-house.

to ascend the tower of the church in order to ring the "Pancake Bell," as a signal to the housewives to get ready the batter for the pancakes: for this service he used to receive from the churchwardens the sum of one shilling. At the end of harvest the "Harvesting Bell" was wont to be rung as a signal to the women and children of the town, that they might go out into the fields to glean.

This was the residence of Mr. David Mitchell, and the closing scene of the ideal friendship between two of the most promising young men of the day, Richard West and Thomas Gray, the poet, who were frequent visitors to the owner.

Early in the year 1742 Richard West, in whom the seeds of consumption were already sown, came down to Pope's for the sake of his health.

The spring that year was long in coming, and the inclemency of the season imprisoned West, who whiled away the long hours by writing a playful ode to send to his friend.

It begins thus :

“ Dear Gray, that always in my heart
Possessest far the better part,
What mean these sudden blasts that rise,
And drive the zephyrs from the skies ?
Oh ! join with mine the tuneful lay,
And invoke the Lady May ! ”

The letter was written on May 5th, and Gray hastened to comfort and assure his friend by writing his now well-known poem, “ On the Spring ” :

“ Lo ! where the rosy bosomed hours,
Fair Venus' train, appear ;
Disclose the long expecting flowers,
And wake the purple year !

On hasty wings thy youth is flown,
Thy sun is set, thy Spring is gone,
We frolic while 'tis May.”

The last words were prophetic. Before the letter had reached its destination fell disease had done its work, and West was dead. He was buried in the chancel of Hatfield Church, and a monument to him was erected bearing the words : “ Richard West, Esq., only son to the Rt. Hon. Richard West, Esq., late Lord Chancellor of Ireland. He died June 1st, 1742, in the 26th year of his age.”

Gray mourned the loss of his friend in his "Sonnet on the Death of Mr. West," lines which ring so far more true than their somewhat artificial heading :

"In vain to me the smiling mornings shine
And redd'ning Phœbus lifts his golden fire ;
The birds in vain their amorous descant join,
Or cheerful fields resume their green attire.

.

I fruitless mourn to him that cannot hear,
And weep the more because I weep in vain."

He was nothing if not wholly human, Thomas Gray.

Horace Walpole, in a letter dated November 25th, 1753, writes :

"They not only possessed genius, which I have not ; great learning, which is to be acquired, and which I never acquired ; but both Gray and West had abilities marvellously premature."

It is doubtful whether Gray ever revisited the scene of his early friendship.

Three years later the manor house was burnt down, January 30th, 1745, and it was never rebuilt.

The property was acquired by the first Marquess of Salisbury in 1817.

The middle period of the eighteenth century was not a glorious one for Hatfield. The character of James, sixth Earl, as has been before mentioned, was curiously warped, and from his father's death, in 1728, he preferred his house at Quickswood, near Baldock, to his mansion at Hatfield, and the company of his social inferiors to that of his equals.

He even disposed of the family plate, and the only silver dating from early days which now remains at Hatfield is a set of silver sconces, which are supposed to have been coated in such a way by his mother that he mistook them for mahogany. For two years, and two years only, he made his abode at Hatfield—namely, after his marriage with Miss Elizabeth Keet, in 1743, a lady his inferior in social standing, but of

a virtuous and wise disposition, who proved herself a wise mother to the three children whom she bore.

She seems to have lived in London very quietly, occupied with the education of her three children.

It was probably due to her influence that her brother, the Rev. John Keet, obtained the living of Hatfield on the death of Samuel Haynes.*

No portrait remains of this Lady Salisbury, who predeceased her husband in 1776. He died four years later, in 1780.

* Samuel Haynes, who held a Canonry of Windsor in addition to his livings of Hatfield and Clothall, was one of the first to classify the Hatfield MSS. He published a "Collection of State Papers relating to Affairs in the Reigns of Kings Henry the Eighth and Edward the Sixth, Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth, from Original Letters and other Authentic Memorials in the Hatfield Library."

CHAPTER X.

James, 7th Earl, marries Lady Mary Amelia Hill—Hatfield House becomes a Centre for the Tory Party—the Earl becomes Lord Chamberlain, and is promoted to a Marquisate—George III. reviews the Militia in Hatfield Park—Reynolds' Portrait of Lady Salisbury—Her Love of Hunting and Cards—Her Nickname—Fire at Hatfield House and Death of the Dowager Marchioness—Dickens' Notices of Hatfield—James, 2nd Marquess, marries Miss Gascoyne—His Building Operations at Hatfield—Fore Street and the "Salisbury Arms"—Body-snatching—Erection of the Church Steeple.

WITH the succession of James, seventh Earl, affairs at Hatfield assumed a very different aspect.

He had married, seven years previously, the Lady Mary Amelia Hill, daughter of Wills, first Marquess of Downshire, one of those great ladies of the eighteenth century who were the delight or terror of those with whom they associated, according as their political complexion might be.

Needless to say, Hatfield at once became one of the great houses of the Tory party, where all the wits and beaux who were on that side rallied round this great and imperious lady.

Promotion for her husband was rapid. He was created Lord Chamberlain to George III., and held the office for twenty-four years. Nine years after his succession he was advanced to the rank of Marquess of Salisbury, and on June 14th, 1793, he was created Knight of the Garter.

Romney's fine portrait of him (152) represents him bearing the white wand of Lord Chamberlain, and confirms Ticknor's impression of him in 1819 as a man "of easy, elegant manners and a proud, graceful courtesy."

He was an intimate friend of George III., and the King did him the honour of paying him a visit with Queen

Charlotte in the year 1800, for the purpose of reviewing the Militia and Volunteers in Hatfield Park.

On this occasion the King presented him with his own portrait by Sir William Beechey (150), paying him the compliment of having Hatfield House represented in the background.*

Queen Charlotte presented at the same time her own portrait (147), a copy by Beechey of Sir Joshua Reynolds' Diploma picture.

A most interesting picture by Livesay (145) of the Grand Review held on June 13th, 1800, is in the possession of the Marquess of Salisbury, and is well known from Stadler's engraving, still to be seen in the houses of many of the older inhabitants.

The whole picture is full of life and interest, and as the Marquess, besides feasting the Royalties, fed the 1,600 troops on the ground, doubtless Hatfield saw a very merry and instructive day. The whole entertainment cost £3,000—a very much larger sum a hundred years ago than it would be to-day.

But the whole romance of the generation clings round Amelia Hill, wife of the first Marquess, of whom endless stories are handed down to posterity.

We know her first as a winsome child, with blue eyes and flaxen hair, from the picture by Cotes (156) which now hangs in the room where she met her death.

But we know her best and we love her most from the superb full-length, painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds (155) in 1780.

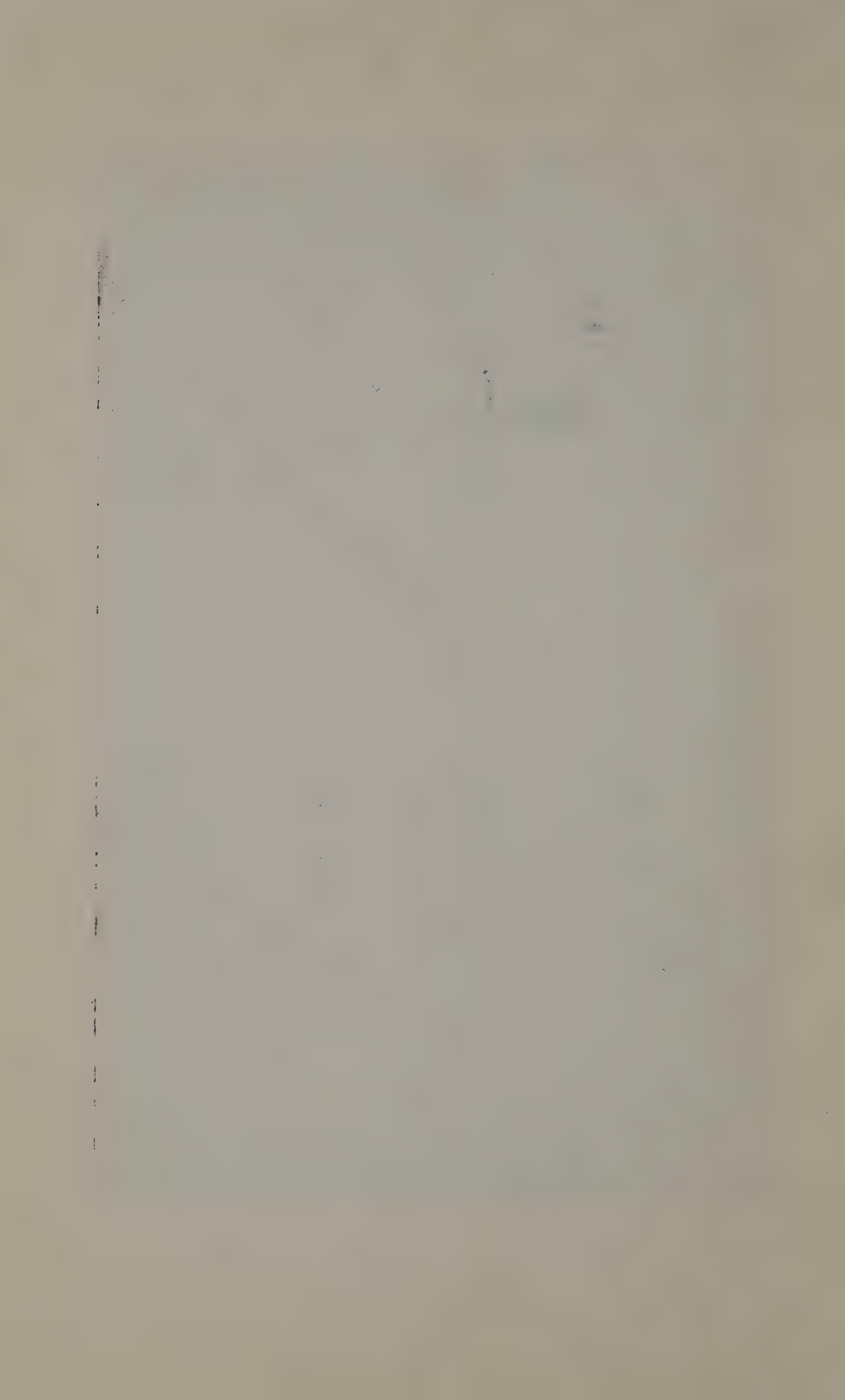
Tall, and dressed in amber-coloured silk, her hair powdered and piled high on her forehead, she draws on her glove, while a little spaniel runs by her side and pulls at her dress.

The figure speaks from the canvas in the plenitude of pride of race and of power—a woman with the world at her feet.

* The present red altar frontal of the parish church is fashioned out of the pall which covered George III.'s coffin in the year 1820. The fine row of lime trees to the west of the church, bordering the churchyard as it then existed, was planted to commemorate the Jubilee of his reign, 1810.



Mary Amelia, Marchioness of Salisbury
by Sir Joshua Reynolds



Tradition goes that this portrait was first exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1781, where Horace Walpole marked it "Good," but the Marchioness was not satisfied with the style of her coiffure, which she did not consider up to date, so she employed Sir Joshua to repaint the hair and exhibit it again the next year.

Two amusements above all others occupied Lady Salisbury's leisure—hunting and cards. It was she who first started the Hertfordshire Foxhounds, and it is told of her that when she became too blind to see the fences in front of her, her horse was led by a groom at her side, who at the critical moment, when they rose together, would shout, "D——n you, my Lady, jump!"

It is even related of her that she had been out hunting on the morning before her death—at the age of eighty-five.

Cards were her great hobby of an evening, and she caused much scandal to the "unco' guid" of her day by sending out invitations for Sunday card parties.

The late Mr. Fordham, of Melbourn Bury, used to say that he had seen cards ankle deep in the Long Gallery of Hatfield when the evening had grown old and many packs had been thrown from the card-tables.

Elizabeth, Countess of Hardwicke, a neighbour at Tyttenhanger, would tell her grandchildren how, in the summer when the weather was propitious, the Hatfield butler would rise up from his seat in the church and announce in sonorous tones to the congregation, "Her Ladyship's band will play on the terrace this afternoon." Her Ladyship would also vary these musical entertainments by being rowed up and down the Broad Water in a state barge with twelve men in full livery pulling at the oars, to the satisfaction of the onlookers.

Religion in Hatfield during these days was at a somewhat low ebb. Whilst the Marchioness was giving to the County her Sunday garden party a fair was wont to be held in the North Avenue. During the Rectorship of the Rev. John Keet, the Parish Clerk would emerge from the church at the time of divine service, and if, after looking down Fore Street,

no congregation presented itself to his gaze he would quietly return and lock up the church.

In her later days the Marchioness had in the political world earned the sobriquet of "Old Sarum," a name handed down to posterity in an immortal lampoon.

Lady Salisbury had been giving a large political party at Hatfield, and the fun waxing fast and furious, some of the party while dancing had carelessly knocked down their hostess.

A wit of the day, said to have been Lord Lytton, seized on the incident, and the following squib was at once composed :

"Conservatives at Hatfield House
Have grown quite harum-scarum ;
For Radicals could do no more
Than overturn Old Sarum."

The Marchioness is said to have been the last of her generation to traverse the streets of London in a sedan chair.

The death of this great lady occurred in so tragic a manner that we give the whole description of it as found in the "Annual Register for 1835" :

"In pursuance of her usual custom of passing the Christmas with her son, the Dowager Marchioness of Salisbury had, on Thursday, arrived at Hatfield.

"On the afternoon of Friday she retired to her room to write a few letters.

"At five o'clock her maid found her writing by the light of two candles.

"Her Ladyship complained of the dimness of the light, and requested the maid to bring her own bed candle, which was brought, and the maid left her Ladyship, who wore a very lofty headdress, writing by these three tapers.

"About 5.30 one of the housemaids perceived a dense pillar of smoke hovering over the staircase of the left wing.

"The alarm was then communicated to the Marquess and Marchioness of Salisbury, both of whom exerted themselves to the utmost to rescue their venerable relative, but in vain.

"Lord Salisbury attempted to force his way into his mother's

dressling-room through a door which opened into it out of a sitting apartment, but it was locked.

"He next reached another door which opened into it from the offices of that wing, but on opening it found it impossible to enter for the dense smoke. The floor and the ceiling were then blazing with such violence as to render all hopes of rescuing her Ladyship through the windows utterly desperate.

"The part of the west wing which looks down the noble avenue of trees on the south was speedily gutted by the fire.

"The roof fell in with a tremendous crash.

"The Marchioness of Salisbury was buried amidst the ruins."

It is common knowledge that the centre and east wing were saved by the position of the chapel, which occupies the whole width of the west wing, where it adjoins the centre block.

Above the chapel roof was placed a huge cistern, and on the flames touching it the water poured down and kept the fire in abeyance until it could be got under. There are still living in Hatfield old people who can remember the conflagration.

Many no doubt will remember in "Oliver Twist" * that Bill Sikes, after the murder of Nancy, takes the North Road to Hatfield. The inn at which the murderer encounters the pedlar, who wishes to sell him his patent composition for the removal of all stains, including blood stains, is said to be the "Eight Bells" at the bottom of Fore Street.

Immediately after comes a description of the historic fire which well repays reading, for it is a most thrilling narrative of the incident.

* Dickens also mentions Hatfield in "Mrs. Lirriper's Lodgings" as follows: "My poor Lirriper being behindhand with the world, and being buried at Hatfield Church in Hertfordshire, not that it was his native place, but that he had a liking for the 'Salisbury Arms,' where we went upon our wedding day and passed as happy a fortnight as ever happy was. . . . I don't mind confessing to you, my dear, that I then put a sandwich and a drop of sherry in a little basket and went down to Hatfield Churchyard outside the coach, and kissed my hand and laid it with a kind of proud and swelling love on my husband's grave, though, bless you, it had taken me so long to clear his name that my wedding ring was worn quite fine and smooth when I laid it on the green, green waving grass."

Although completely gutted, most of the walls of the west wing were left standing, and James, second Marquess of Salisbury, took the work of restoration in hand at once ; so successfully was it carried out that it needs a trained eye to detect the new from the old work.

James Cecil succeeded his father in 1823, having married two years previously Frances Mary Gascoyne, daughter and heiress of Bamber Gascoyne, of Bifrons, M.P. for Liverpool.

On his marriage the Marquess assumed the name of Gascoyne in addition to that of Cecil.

Two gems of the Hatfield collection found their way hither owing to this marriage—the beautiful Sir Joshua child portrait of Lady Salisbury's mother, Miss Bridget Price (143), and the portrait by Sir Thos. Lawrence of Frances Mary Gascoyne herself, one of the painter's last works (158).

The Marquess devoted himself largely to his Hatfield estates, and many of the buildings on it were erected in his day.

He planned the forecourt on the north side of Hatfield House, and built the entrance gates on the south side at the time of Queen Victoria's visit in 1846.

He also constructed the tennis-court, and caused the church of St. Mark's, Woodhill, to be erected.

But the work which affected the quiet village more than all else was the construction of the railway in 1850.

Lord Salisbury, with remarkable foresight, seeing that it was inevitable, determined to have it at his very gates, obtaining a concession that the Great North Road should be deflected from its original route, running up Fore Street and thence through Hatfield Park, to its present situation. Till then all the multifarious traffic to the north had passed through the Park, down past the Palace Gateway, through Fore Street and so to join the present North Road.

Busy indeed must the little street have been, as indeed Miss Austen infers in "*Pride and Prejudice*," with the many coaches stopping either at the "*Salisbury Arms*," "next my Lord Salisbury's house," as Pepys has it, or else at the "*Red Lion*," further up the North Road.

Terrible must the climb have been in frosty weather, and one old inhabitant has told the writer that he remembers the York wagon being dragged up the hill by sixteen horses during the frosty weather.

James, second Marquess of Salisbury, experimented with wooden block paving to make the hill more easy of ascent, and we believe that this is the first instance of wood paving being used in England.

These blocks occasionally appear in excavating the street, and were of a larger size and rounder shape than those now in common use.

The "Salisbury Arms," that charming Georgian edifice which faces the church at the top of Fore Street, was a celebrated hostelry on the road to York, and the coaches were wont to be driven right through the house into the yard beyond, where there was stabling for a hundred horses.

In the upstairs rooms a County Assembly used to be held in bygone days.

Nor, indeed, was the country round without suspicion of highwaymen.

Anne, Countess of Mexborough, who died in 1870, would not, to the end of her life, when visiting the neighbourhood, travel beyond Hatfield if she arrived there after dark, so vivid were her recollections of the doings of highwaymen on Colney Heath in her youth.

Nor was the neighbourhood without taint of even worse things.

Body-snatching was not an uncommon occurrence, owing to the proximity of the London hospitals, and within the memory of those living handfuls of sawdust would be thrown into a grave, so that, if the coffin was drawn up before the earth settled, the disturbance of the sawdust would betray the theft.

In one instance—the burial of a boy with a peculiar deformity—the coffin was securely wedged into the grave with a scaffolding erected over it, so that it might be perfectly impossible to disturb it.

The appearance of the church was materially altered in 1847 by the erection of a spire in the place of the "bell cot" which had originally crowned the tower.

James, second Marquess, caused it to be erected to commemorate Queen Victoria's visit in October, 1846. The framework was originally put together in George's Field, so that it might be possible to judge of its proportions.

Whether it is really an improvement to the appearance of the massive tower is a moot question.



The Church of St. Etheldreda, Bishop's Hatfield, in 1803

CHAPTER XI.

Brocket Hall—Purchased by the Lambs—William, Viscount Melbourne, buried at Hatfield—Restoration of the Parish Church—Ruthless Removal and Loss—the church Reopened 1872.

BEFORE drawing these notes to a close some mention must be made of a celebrated family who for a time owned Brocket Hall, formerly in this parish.

As we have seen, on the extinction of the Reade family in the eighteenth century Brocket passed to co-heiresses, one of whom, Mrs. Winnington, sold it to Sir Matthew Lamb.

He died in 1768 and is buried at Hatfield.

He was succeeded by Sir Peniston Lamb, who for political services was created Viscount Melbourne in 1780.

His elder son, William (born 1779), succeeded as second Viscount Melbourne, and hither to Brocket he brought his bride, the fascinating and eccentric Lady Caroline Ponsonby.

Unhappy in his domestic life, Lord Melbourne devoted himself to politics, and for many years was guide and mentor to Queen Victoria during the earlier stages of her reign.

That his careful tuition and almost fatherly devotion to his young Queen were fully rewarded by her trust and affection we may read in the "Letters of Queen Victoria," lately given to the world.

Lord Melbourne died in November, 1848, and was buried in the Brocket vault in Hatfield Church. The very site of this vault was well-nigh forgotten until it was recovered by the late clerk, who remembered the interment; the entrance is immediately beneath the pulpit.

Till recent years there was no monument to mark Lord Melbourne's place of burial, but the piety of a member of his

family has now erected a brass with this inscription : "Near this spot lies the body of William Lamb, second Viscount Melbourne. Born March 15, 1779. Died November 24, 1848.

He was Prime Minister to King William IV. from March to November, 1834, and again from April, 1835, to June, 1837, and to Queen Victoria from her Accession in June, 1837, to August, 1841."

Lord Melbourne was succeeded as third Viscount by his brother, better known as Lord Beauvale, but on his death without issue Brocket passed into the possession of the Cowper family.

This is not the place to write the later history of Hatfield, nor of its great son, Robert Gascoyne Cecil, third Marquess of Salisbury, which has of late been given to the world by the faithful and unerring pen of his daughter.

One closing word, however, on the restoration of the parish church, which was begun in 1871.

Unfortunately, there is no record of the appearance of the interior of the church before the restoration, though it possessed most of the features presented by churches which had passed through the Georgian era—*i.e.*, high square pews, baize-lined, both in nave and chancel ; a three-decker for the parson and the clerk, and galleries both in the north transept and at the west end. In the latter was placed a small organ, which had succeeded the wind instruments and violins of an earlier date.

It was early days for scientific church restoration, and Mr. David Brandon, the architect, was actuated rather by zeal than by knowledge of ecclesiastical architecture.

The roof and the supporting walls of the nave were considered to be decayed beyond repair, so the whole nave was levelled almost to the floor and then rebuilt, the walls being raised 4 ft. in restoration.

Nearly all the mullions and tracery of the windows had perished and were replaced.

The present porches were erected mainly with the sound timbers extracted from the roof.

The charges were borne in the main by the Marquess of Salisbury, but the Brocket Chapel was restored by Mr. Wynn Ellis, the then owner of Ponsbourne, who also gave the stone pulpit.

The cost of the alabaster reredos and the decoration of the chancel roof, which now conceals the original rafters, was undertaken by the Rev. C. J. Robinson and Dr. Charles Drage. These are, perhaps, the most satisfactory features of the restoration.

The handsome marble floor of the sanctuary was subsequently given by Lady Gwendolen Cecil.

Unfortunately, much unnecessary destruction took place which might have been avoided.

The Jacobean pulpit was removed and presented as a gift to Totteridge Church ; a fine brass chandelier, bearing the inscription "The Gift of Thomas Barttelot, Grocer, to the Parish Church of Bishop's Hatfield, Hertfordshire, 1733," was sold as old metal to an enterprising dealer in scrap iron, and was only recovered for the Hyde Chapel by the enterprise of Mr. A. L. Stride ; and many of the black marble tombstones with which the aisle was paved were broken up and used as foundation. Many interesting mural tablets of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were removed from their original positions and are now crowded together in the west entrance of the church.

The east window of the Salisbury Chapel, consisting of heraldic glass containing four shields quartering the arms of the Cecil family, intertwined with conventional wreaths of fruit and flowers, and dating from the early seventeenth century, was entirely removed and carelessly put away in a carpenter's loft, whence it has recently been recovered, grievously twisted and broken.

The Salisbury Chapel was decorated by Italian artists in fresco. Unfortunately, at the same time many hatchments and armorial helmets disappeared.

The beautiful wrought-iron screen between the chancel and the Salisbury Chapel was placed here by Georgina,

Marchioness of Salisbury. It is of eighteenth-century workmanship and came probably from the Low Countries.

The restoration of the church occupied nearly a year, and the building was reopened for divine service by the Bishop of Rochester, to whose see Hatfield then belonged, on June 29th, 1872.

Thus much for the Church of St. Etheldreda, Bishop's Hatfield, which shelters the dust of a Cardinal, who was also Governor of Paris (Louis de Luxembourg); two Lord High Treasurers of England (John Barnet and Robert Cecil, first Earl of Salisbury), and two Prime Ministers (William, second Viscount Melbourne, and Robert Cecil, third Marquess of Salisbury).

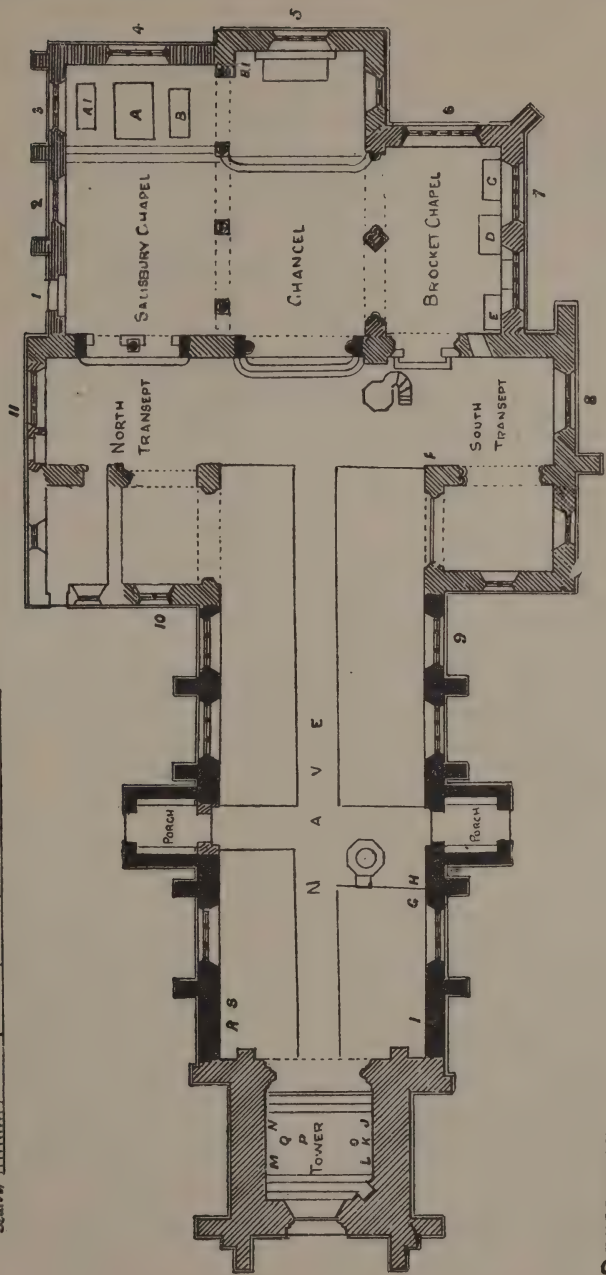
The pageant passeth and is gone: Monarch, Cardinal, Statesman, each has passed on his way and has left his trace on the grey church wall and winding village nestling beneath the two great palaces which crown the hill.

Child of the future! who enterest into these things by no sweat of thine own brow, bare thy head, and breathe reverently the words:

“The lot is fallen unto me in a fair ground:
Yea, I have a goodly heritage.”

ST ETHELRED'S CHURCH, BISHOP'S HATFIELD

Scale of 10' 0" 10' 20' 30' 40' 50' 60 Feet



REFERENCE

- 13th Century
- 15th ditto
- 17th ditto
- Modern

T. Bowes
Del.

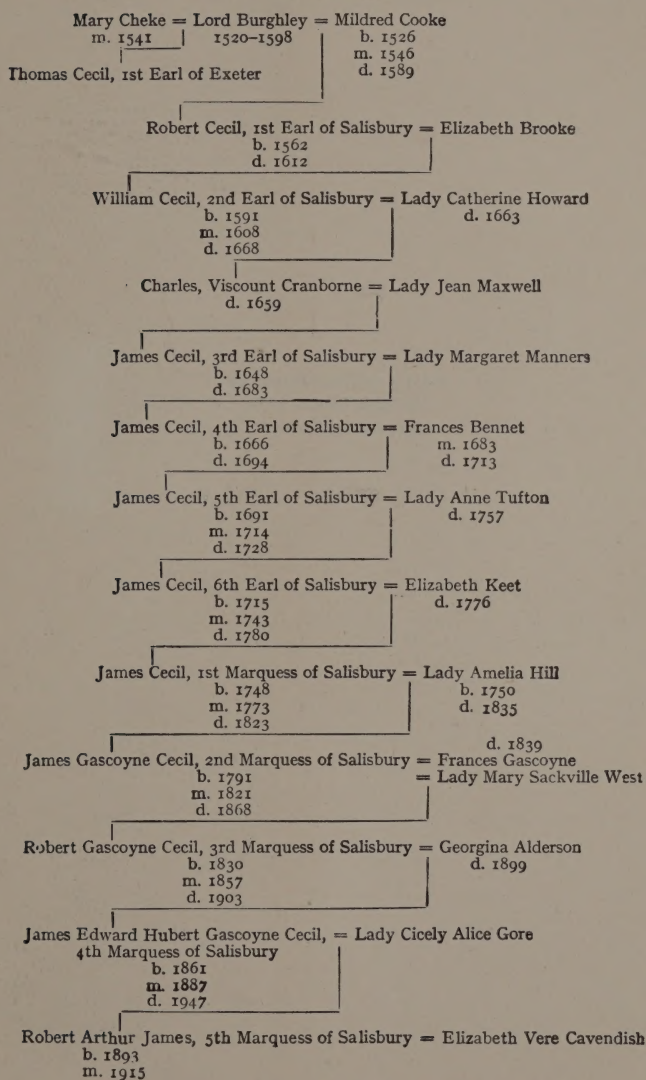
WINDOWS

1. Memorial window to Miss Louisa Alderson.
2. " " " Lady Mildred Hope.
3. " " " Georgina, Marchioness of Salisbury.
- 4.
5. " " " James, 2nd Marquess of Salisbury.
6. " " " those who fell in South African War.
7. " " " Mr. William Webb.
8. " " " Mrs. Drage.
9. " " " Mr. John Church, of Woodside.
10. Window given by children and servants of Hatfield House at the Restoration, 1872.
11. Memorial window to the three sons of the Bishop of Exeter.

TOMBS

- A. Monument to Robert Cecil, 1st Earl of Salisbury, *d.* 1611.
- A I. Monument to warrior unknown, *circa* 1190.
- B. Monument to William Curll, *d.* 1617.
- B I. Tablet to Fulk Onslow, *d.* 1602.
- C. Monument to Sir James Reade, Bart., of Brocket, *d.* 1701; Sir John Reade, *d.* 1711; Dame Love Reade, *d.* 1731; Mary Susan Reade.
- D. Monument to Dame Elizabeth Brocket, wife of Sir John Brocket, *d.* 1612, and to Dame Agnes Saunders, her mother, *d.* 1588.
- E. Altar tomb to Sir John Brocket, of Brocket Hall, *d.* 1598.
- F. Brass to William, 2nd Viscount Melbourne, *d.* 1848.
- G. Recumbent marble to Mrs. Lucie Fuller, *d.* 1688.
- H. Marble headstone to Mr. John Searancke.
- I. Mural tablet to Sir John Eliot, Bart., *d.* 1787.
- J. Monument to Capt. John Willes, R.N.
- K. Marble urn to Church family.
- L. Mural tablet to Searancke family.
- M. Monument to Thomas Fuller, D.D., Rector of Bishop's Hatfield, *d.* 1712.
- N. Monument to John Heavyside, *d.* 1787.
- O. Marble slab on the floor to Sir Francis Boteler, Kt., of Hatfield Woodhall, *d.* 1690.
- P. Marble slab to Sir David Mitchell, Kt., Vice-Admiral of the Red, *d.* 1710.
- Q. Matrix of brass and arms of Fulk Onslow, *d.* 1602.
- R. Mural tablet to Samuel Bulkeley, D.D., Prebendary of Bristol, *d.* 1809, and to Lady Frances Bulkeley, his wife, *d.* 1798.
- S. Mural tablet to Mark Milbanke, Admiral of the White, *d.* 1805.

THE PEDIGREE OF THE CECIL FAMILY



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